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Reflecting Mirrors

Perspectives on Huayan Buddhism

Edited by
Imre Hamar

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To Antonino Forte

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INTRODUCTION

The third patriarch of the Huayan tradition, Fazang 法藏 (643–712), is said to have built a Mirror Hall for Empress Wu 武 (r. 684–705) as a pedagogical device to illustrate the cardinal tenets of Huayan philosophy, the mutual interdependence and mutual interpenetration. According to later descriptions eight mirrors were placed in the four cardinal directions and four secondary directions, and one on the top, and one on the bottom. In the middle of the ten mirrors facing to one another, a Buddha statue was installed, along with a lamp or a candle to illuminate it. This setting produced an infinite number of Buddha reflections in the mirrors. When I visited the Huayan monastery on Zhongnanshan in the outskirt of Xi'an a few years ago, I was disappointed to see that the temple which collapsed sometime during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) consists of only a small building, and only the abbot with his disciple live there. However, the recounstructed *stūpa*s of Huayan patriarchs, Du Shun 杜順 (557–640) and Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839), can be seen in the yard of the monastery, preserving some glories of the past. The enthusiastic abbot showed me his reconstruction of Mirror Hall, a small building housing ten metal plates (as substitutes for mirrors) and a Buddha image in the center. Lighting up the the candle, infinite Buddha images became reflected on the metal plates. In this volume Huayan Buddhism is in the center, and the articles arranged around this topic reflect it from different aspects providing various perspectives for the viewers to discern it, hence the title *Reflecting Mirrors: Perspectives on Huayan Buddhism.* The reader can get an insight into the development of Huayan Buddhism from the compilation of its base text, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* through the establishment of Huayan tradition as a special form of East Asian Buddhism to its visual representations.

The book consists of five chapters: 1. State of Field 2. *The Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* 3. Huayan in China 4. Hwaŏm/Kegon in Korea and Japan and 5. Huayan/Hwaŏm/Kegon Art. The first chapter gives a summary of the main results of research in the field of Huayan Buddhism in the West, Japan and China. Although the first publication on Huayan in the West, Garma C. C. Chang's book titled *The Buddhist Teaching of Totality* (1971) is rather unreliable, several studies have appeared which shed light on various aspects of Huayan Buddhism. Joerg Plassen in his article shows the main trends of the research focusing on the early history of the tradition. Robert Gimello's

unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, *Chih-yen* (1976) has remained the best study on the early history of Huayan and the religious and philosophical background of the formation of Huayan. Francis D. Cook and LIU Ming-wood contributed to our knowledge of the thought of Fazang who is said to have systematized Huayan philosophy. Fazang's historical role in Tang society is clarified by the works of Antonino Forte and Chen Jinhua. Peter Gregory's book, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (1991) is certainly a milestone in Huayan studies in the West. It provides a very deatiled survey on the Huayan system of classification of teachings (*panjiao*), Huayan practice based on the cosmological implication of *Dasheng qixin lun*, and Huayan's relationship to other Chinese philosophies. Recently, Imre Hamar has published several works related to Chengguan's life and philosophy, to whom Zongmi is greatly indebted.

Scientific investigation of Huayan Buddhism started very early in the last quarter of 19th century in Japan, thus a huge amount of Huayan studies have been accumulated. It is no wonder that Western scholars primarly look for Japanese secondary sources, once they decide to explore one aspect of Huayan Buddhism. Given the great number of related articles and books on this topic, KIMURA Kiyotaka had to confine himself to introducing the major publications of some excellent scholars from different periods. First, he discusses the works of YUSUGI Ryōei, KAMETANI Seikei, SUZUKI Sōchū, TAKAMINE Ryōshū, KAMEKAWA Kyōshin who lived between the last quarter of 19th century and the first half of twentieth century. After 1950's Huayan research enters upon a new phase with such eminent scholars like SAKAMOTO Yukio, ISHII Kyōdō, KAMATA Shigeo and KIMURA Kiyotaka. Finally, he mentions scholars of next generation who worked under his guidance, including ITŌ Zuiei, NAKAMURA Kaoru, YOSHIZU Yoshihide and ISHII Kōsei. All these works Kimura listed in his article became the classics of Huayan studies, which are now indispensable handbooks for studies of any kind in this field. Kimura's article is supplemented by an appendix of the bibliography of Japanese articles on Huayan Buddhism in the past fifteen years. The abundance of publications clearly shows that the Japanese intensive interest in this form of Buddhism has not weakened.

Even though Japanese publications are quite numerous, the most important results are well-known, as they receive wide scholarly attention by referring to them. However, we know much less about Huayan studies in China, as they are seldom quoted in Western publications. ZHU Qingzhi's article, no doubt, fills in this gap by introducing studies of China in the past 25 years. Given the economic reforms in late 1970's, along with economy religious studies became very prosperous in Mainland China. However, up to the beginning of 1990's scholars of older generation, like REN Jiyu or FANG Litian focused on writing general histories of Chinese philosophy and Buddhism, and Huayan could be only a chapter of these comprehensive books. With the arrival of new generation of scholars specialized works started to appear. WEI Daoru wrote a comprehensive history of Huayan Buddhism in China which discusses the compilation of *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, the works of Huayan masters, and the impact of Huayan Buddhism on other schools and the literati. ZHU briefly introduces the works, mainly articles, of recent scholarship on various aspects of Huayan

Buddhism, i.e. Huayan theory, philosophy of Huayan masters, Huayan influence on other Buddhist schools, Neo-Confucianism and literature. Zhu also mentiones a few Ph.D. dissertations written on Huayan Buddhism.

CHOE Yeonshik introduces the main trends of Huayan studies in Korea. His article is also a very important contribution to this volume, as even Huayan scholars do not use Korean secondary sources unless they are Koreanists, thus the results of Korean research are not well-known. Although the Hwaŏm school as an independent school has not survived in Korea, it has become an important part of not only the monastic education but the Korean intellectual tradition, too. When the modern investigation of Huayan Buddhism began in the 60s, scholars tended to apply foreign methods in research, and focused on the philosophical writings of patriarchs instead of studying the *Huayan jing* and its commentaries. The Korean research on Huayan Buddhism can be divided into two parts: 1. study on the theoretical system of the Chinese Huayan tradition 2. study on the Korean Hwaŏm tradition. Choe lists the main publications related to these two areas.

As it is widely known, the Huayan tradition of East Asian Buddhism received its name from the Chinese translation of *Mahāvaipulya Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經. This is one of the most voluminous Mahāyāna *sūtra*, Thomas Cleary's English translation covers more than 1500 pages. This *sūtra*, which is thought to be preached right after Buddha's experience of enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree, is regarded as the highest teaching according to the classification of teachings by the Huayan tradition. Being the literary product of the relatively unknown Mahāyāna movement, this work is of uncertain provenance. As the original Sanskrit manuscripts of two Chinese translations are said to have been brought from Khotan, some scholars suspect that this *sūtra* was compiled here or somewhere in Central Asia. In Chapter Two, which includes three articles on this huge Mahāyāna *sūtra*, ŌTAKE Susumu in his article titled *On the Origin and Early Development of the Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* puts forward that *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* was actually known in India, thus he seems to argue for the Indian origin. He shows that Sanskrit equivalent for the Chinese term "*Huayan*" is not "*Gaṇḍavyūha*," as long surmised, but "*Avataṃsaka*". He provides a very clear explanation of the term "*Buddhāvataṃsaka*" which is the key element in the title of this Mahāyāna *sūtra*. According to the Sarvāstivāda tradition *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is a miracle that only Buddha can perform. In this miracle a large number of Buddhas seated on lotus blossom become manifested, and each of these Buddhas in turn manifest a large number of Buddhas seated on lotus blossoms. This multiplicity of Buddhas reach as far as the Akaniṣṭha heaven. Ōtake succeeded in finding some passages describing this kind of miracle in the *Bhadraśrī*, a chapter of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. In his article, he also demonstrates that the title *Buddhāvataṃsaka* was used before the compilation of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. He finds four *sūtras* bearing this title and regards them as the original *Buddhāvataṃsaka* group. He adds three other *sūtra*s to this group, because he finds some similarities among these works. The most important is that all these seven *sūtra*s were preached at the meeting held

in the Hall of Brightness, which is not a historical but a mythical place. The author suggests that this original *Buddhāvataṃsaka* group played an important role in the formation of large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, as most of them were incorporated into this huge *sūtra*. Nonetheless, he calls attention to the fact that even though this group formed the nucleus of the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, this is not necessarily its oldest strata. All these works refer to the ten stages, thus the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* must have predated them.

Jan Nattier in her article titled *New Light on the Early History of the Buddhā-vataṃsaka-sūtra: Evidence from Chinese Sources* also looks for the origin of this Mahāyāna *sūtra* and finds some texts that could be called the "Proto-*Buddhāvataṃsaka*." First, she shows very convincingly that the oldest text in the Chinese translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* texts, *Dousha jing* 兜沙經, produced by Lokakṣema 支婁迦讖 in the latter part of the second century CE, can be matched with two other translations, the *Zhu pusa qiu fo benye jing* 諸菩薩求佛本業經 and the *Pusa shizhu xingdao pin* 菩薩十住行道品. Consequently, these tree texts used to be one text translated by Lokakṣema, but during its transmission they became separated and were given different titles. The usage of terminology and the style of the translation substantiate this claim. Next, she finds that this reconstructed text is very similar to the *Pusa benye jing* 菩薩本業經, translated by Zhi Qian 支謙 in the early to mid-third century, thus this must be a different recension of the same text. She regards this text, that we have two recensions of, a possible candidate for the title "Proto-*Buddhāvataṃsaka*," or, at least, a scripture whose content resembled that of the "Proto-*Buddhāvataṃsaka*." The larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* seems to be an expansion of this "original" *sūtra* by inserting other materials into the text without changing the sequence of the teachings. In addition, Nattier studies the content of this early *sūtra*, carefully comparing the two recensions and the related "pieces" in the larger *Buddhā-vataṃsaka-sūtra*, in order to shed some light on the possible authors of the text and their practices. She points out that the bodhisattva, whose practice is depicted in this *sūtra*, is a male belonging to the wealthy and privileged class. A bodhisattva must wish the well-being of all living beings during his every-day activitiy, even while entering his harem. The *sūtra* does not reject but incorporates the non-Mahāyāna practices, nontheless it emphasizes the Mahāyāna teachings, the attaiment of Buddhahood through ten stages. This scripture, like the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, is a highly visual text. The bodhisattvas are told to see the Buddhas in meditation, and the new revelations are transmitted through bodhisattvas emerging from *samādhi*.

After discussing the origin of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* by Jan Nattier and ŌTAKE Susumu, Imre Hamar's article titled *The History of the Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra: Shorter and Larger Texts* gives a survey of the texts related to this scripture. If *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is mentioned, usually one has three texts in mind: Buddhabhadra's first Chinese translation titled *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 in 420, Śikṣānanda's second Chinese translation under the same title in 699, and the Tibetan translation titled *Sangs-rgyas phal-po-che zhes bya-ba shin-tu rgyas-pa*

chen-po'i mdo by Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, and Ye-shes-sde in the first quarter on 9th century. We are tempted to call these texts the "complete" *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, however the comparative study of these texts reveals that they are different in many aspects. The number and sometimes the titles of the chapters are at variance, moreover in the Tibetan text we find two chapters that are missing from both Chinese texts, and there is one chapter which is missing from the earlier Chinese translation made by Buddhabhadra but the the other Chinese version and the Tibetan text include it. Thus it seems to be more appropriate to say that today we have three recensions of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, which could be called the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*s. Although the Sanskrit text has not survived, we have some knowledge of its existence through the report of Chinese Huayan exegets. Zhiyan recorded the title of the chapters of the Sanskrit manuscript he had seen. This could be called the fourth recension. Before and after the appearance of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* chapters were translated as freestanding works, and many of them are preserved in the Buddhist Canon. Hamar's article ends with a comparative chart which relates the chapters of the four recension of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* to the extant freestanding translations.

There are many Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, but only few of them became very prominent in forming the characterics of East Asian Buddhism. The *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is undoubtedly one of them. It would be interesting to study the reason why this scripture was so influential. Is it due to the fact that it is said to be preached right after Buddha's enlightenment depicting the ultimate truth, or its emphasis on the bodhisattva path, or its highly visual and imaginative nature? This way or that way, it gave rise to a special East Asian form of Buddhism which is called Huayan in Chinese, Hwaŏm in Korean, and Kegon in Japanese. It would be an exaggeration to regard it a "school" as it had no institutional background, thus "tradition" or "lineage" seem to be more appropriate terms. This lineage is usually described by five patriarchs: Du Shun 杜順 (557–640), Zhiyan 智嚴 (602–668), Fazang 法藏 (643–712), Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839), and Zongmi 宗密 (780–841). In addition to Zhiyan, Fazang and Chengguan, the lay hermit of Wutaishan Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (635?–730) and Fazang's heretic disciple Huiyuan 慧苑 (673–743) wrote commentaries to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra.* These exegetical works became the main sources of understanding this huge scripture in East Asia.

Chapter Three discusses some aspects of Chinese Huayan Buddhism. ARAMAKI Noritoshi in his article titled *The Huayan Tradition in Its Earliest Period* has attempted to reconstruct the beginning of Huayan tradition before the so-called first patriarch right after Buddhabhadra's translation of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra.* Buddhabhadra is said to teach meditation to Xuangao 玄高 (402–444), a monk who later played important role in the Buddhist development of Northern Wei Dynasty (386–534), but finally fell prey to the anti-Buddhist movement. Aramaki suspects that Buddhabhadra took his translation of *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* with him to the North, and transmitted it to Xuangao, along with the *huayan samādhi*. Xuangao established a religious community with Daorong 道融, who is regarded as the first

transmitter of the bodhisattva *śīla sūtra*, the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經, at the Binglingsi 炳靈寺 cave. Aramaki calls attention to the parallel development of the Vairocana Buddha images accompanied by the "one thousand Buddha images" and Huayan Buddhism.

In terms of Huayan philosophy, Du Shun's important contribution was the paradigmatic change of the concepts form/emptiness for phenomenon/principle. Zhiyan wan an innovative thinker who advocated several key Huayan tenets, like the *dharmadhātu* dependent arising, nature-origination, classification of teachings, etc. Fazang was the person who formulated the system of Huayan philosophy, while Chengguan and Zongmi tried first to bring closer and later to harmonize this Buddhist philosophy with other Buddhist schools and Chinese thought. WEI Daoru in his article titled *A Fundemental Feature of the Huayan Philosophy*, discusses one very important Huayan concept called perfect interfusion (*yuanrong* 圓融). Huayan masters tried to understand the world with the help of this concept, and this was the goal that a practitioner is supposed to attain through Buddhist practice. Wei explains this concept from the perspectives of 1. substance and function as well as of essence and phenomena, 2. non-duality of the opposite sides in entity, 3. mutual inclusiveness and penetration of things or phenomena, 4. general relationship among things and phenomena, 5. practice.

Perfect interfusion of nature (*xing* 性) and characteristics (*xiang* 相) also played an important role in establishing two important terms, *faxiangzong* 法相宗 and *faxingzong* 法性宗. Imre Hamar in his article titled *A Huayan Paradigm for the Classification of Mahāyāna teachings: The Origin and Meaning of Faxiangzong and Faxingzong* challenges the widespread view that *faxingzong* refers to the Huayan tradition. Fazang criticized Xuanzang's 玄奘 (600–664) Yogācāra by using the pejorative term, *faxiangzong* implying that this school only investigates the characteristics of the *dharma*s. However, the invention and frequent application of the term *faxingzong* must be attributed to Chengguan. He is the first to use this term for Madhyamaka in the classification of Buddhist teaching that Dīvākara is said to relate to Fazang. The term *xing*, as Fazang used, can be connected with both Madhyamaka and Tathāgatagarbha philosophies, as it can denote the emptiness of self-nature or the Buddha-nature. Chengguan seems to elaborate this meaning in his explanation of ten differences between *faxiangzong* and *faxingzong*. Under the rubric of *faxiangzong* he propounds the tenets of Yogācāra, while *faxingzong* includes not only the Madhyamaka teachings but also the Tathāgatagarbha ones. One of the most important difference is that *faxiangzong* claims that the Absolute is immovable, thus it does not have anything to do with the phenomenal world, while according to the *faxingzong* the outer world evolves out of the Absolute mind. In examining the scriptures that are quoted to substantiate these stances we find that some scriptures belong to both *faxiangzong* and *faxingzong*. Thus we can conclude that this pattern is used as a transscriptural hermeneutical device for classifying various Buddhist teachings. In addition, *faxingzong* cannot be identified with Huayan tradition, as it represents only the advanced teaching of Mahāyāna, while Huayan is the perfect teaching.

Although Chengguan tried to restore Huayan orthodoxy founded by Fazang, he made several concessions to the indigenous Chinese philosophies and other Buddhist schools. He often referred to Chinese classics in his commentaries to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, but he often added that he borrowed only the words and not the meaning in order to explain Buddhist philosophy to his audience, mainly elit literati. He studied under several Chan masters of different schools, and the influence of Chan Buddhism in his works is undoubted. He explains the sudden enlightenment in great details, and his disciple, Zongmi who was also the patriarch of Chan school, elaborated further this discussion. Zongmi claims the unity of Chan and doctrine, advocating the importance of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual practice. KIMURA Kiyotaka in his article titled *Huayan and Chan* gives a very clear summary of the relationship between Huayan and Chan. First of all, as is mentioned above *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is a higly visional text depicting the world of Buddha's enlightenment. One of the Buddha's characteristics in this scripture is "moving without leaving", that is to say the Buddha goes to other places without leaving his original location under the *bodhi* tree in order to preach. However, in fact, he mainly remains silent, and other bodhisattvas deliver his teachings. Thus the *sūtra* itself can be regarded a sort of *dhyāna sūtra*. In addition, the scripture explicitly state the existence of a special kind of meditative state, the ocean-seal *samādhi*. Huayan exegets defined this state as Buddha's great meditation that makes the truth appear the same way how the calm ocean reflects images. Among the works of Huayan masters *Contemplation of the Realm of Reality* (*Fajie guanmen* 法界觀門) and *The Ending of Delusion and Return to the Source* (*Wangjin huanyuan* 妄盡還源) are the major works which discuss meditation. The lay hermit, Li Tongxuan is famous for his theory on the contemplation of Buddha-light which shows how to unify the self with the light. Huayan philosophy made great impact on Chan school, several Chan masters were well versed in this literature. Yuanwu Keqin 圜悟克勤 (1063–1135), the compiler of *Biyan lu* 碧巖録, seems to comprehend this abstruse philosophy through his own religious experience.

Bearing in mind the Chan slogan of not relying on scriptures, it can be perplexing to read Jana Benická's article titled *(Huayan-like) Notions of Inseparability (or Unity) of Essence and its Function (or Principle and Phenomena) in some Commentaries on "Five Positions" of Chan Master Dongshan Liangjie*, which shows how deeply some Chan masters were immersed in sophisticated philosophical issues under the influence of Huayan Buddhism. She discusses how two Chan masters, Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂 (804–901) – a direct disciple of Dongshan Liangjie – and Yongjue Yuanxian 永覺元賢 (1578–1657) interpreted the "five positions" (*wu wei* 五位) of Dongshan Liangjie" 洞山良價 (807–869), a founder of the Caodong 曹洞 school. These five positions are: 1. the biased within the right; 2. the right within the biased, 3. coming from within the right, 4. arriving at within together [the right and the biased], 5. going within together [the right and the biased]. These five positions were regarded a Chan version of the well-known Huayan tenet, the four *dharmadhātu*s, as the right/biased paradigm can be replaced by the Huayan principle/phenomena para-

digm. In their explanations both masters emphasize the Huayan concept of inseparability of principle and phenomena.

Another example of Huayan influence on other schools of Chinese Buddhism is introduced by HUANG Yi-hsun in her article titled *Huayan Thought in Yanshou's Guanxin xuanshu: Six Characteristics and Ten Profound Gates.* Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–975) is known to have established the syncretism of Chan and Pure Land schools. His major work is the *Records of the Tenet-Mirror* (*Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄) which is a large Buddhist encyclopedia that covers more than five hundred Taishō pages. His own thought is better reflected in his shorter works, thus Huang chose the work *Profound Pivot of the Contemplation of Mind* (*Guanxin xuanshu* 觀心玄樞) to show Yanshou's indebtedness to Huayan philosophy. Yanshou underlines the importance of contemplation of mind for common people, and states that any activity helping others to attain enlightenment can be qualified as Buddha deed. In his elucidation of contemplation of mind and Buddha deeds he had recourse to two basic Huayan concepts, the six characteristics and the ten profound gates. However, he reinterpreted these tenets in order to comply with his predilection for mind-only philosophy. Fazang used the six characteristics to describe the relationship between the *dharmadhātu* and phenomena dependently arisen from *dharmadhātu*, while Yanshou replaced the *dharmadhātu* with one-mind in order to give an account of the relationship between one-mind and various aspects of mind. The same way, Yanshou explains the ten profound gates in terms of the relationship between one-mind and the deluded aspects of mind. In the new set of ten profound gates Fazang deleted the gate "creation through the transformation of the mind-only", but Yanshou reintroduced this, and listed as the last gate implying its fundamental importance.

Huayan Buddhism was spread into Korea and Japan, where it is called Hwaŏm and Kegon, respectively. Some apsects of the Korean and Japanese development is discussed in Chapter Four. Ŭisang 義湘 (625–702) was Fazang's fellow-student under Zhiyan, and he transmitted Huayan teachings to Korea. Traditionally he is regarded as the author of the work titled *Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo* 一乘法界圖, which is a diagram formed by 30 verses. Joerg Plassen in his article titled *Some remarks on the authorship of the Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo* summarizes the main points of the recent debate over the authorship of this short nonetheless very influential text, and provides his view based on his reading some Korean texts. The dispute was caused by the discovery of the introductory lines and the seal at Yangshan (70 km Southwest of Peking) in 1996. This introduction credits a Huayan master with the composition of this work. YAO Changshou concludes that this Huayan master is non other than Zhiyan, thus he is the author of *Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo* 一乘法界圖, and not Ŭisang. This assumption, of course, provoked Korean scholars to defend Ŭisang's authorship. Plassen traces the sources that could substantiate Ŭisang's authorship, and finds that this attribution is not very firm. The quotations from the earliest extant explanations of *Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo* seem to support Zhiyan's authorship of the verses, and Ŭisang supposedly arranged the verses in a diagram and added a vermillion line to the seal. His invention gave a

new dimension of the original text that now could be used in Huayan meditation which aimed at realizing ocean-seal *samādhi*.

Another important figure of Hwaŏm tradition was Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617–686). Charles Muller in his article titled *Wŏnhyo's Reliance on Huiyuan in his Exposition of the Two Hindrances* focuses on one important Yogācāra doctrine, the two hindrances to show Wŏnhyo's contribution to the East Asian understanding of Yogācāra philosophy and his indebtedness to Huiyuan 慧遠 (523–592). The first of the two hindrances is the afflictive hindrances, which include various type of emotional imbalances, such as anger, jealousy, etc. These hindrances are closely connected to the cognitive hindrances, which are due to the misconception of reality and recognizing the existence of "self". The *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s are concerned with the removal of the first type of the hindrances, while bodhisattvas also wish to get rid of the second type of hindrances in order to be able to develope the wisdom of expedient means necessary to teach other beings. One of the most influential work in East Asian Buddhism, the *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith*, however, has a different definition of the two hindrances. The afflictive hindrances are explained as the first movement of mind, called "intrinsic ignorance" or non-enlightenment, while the cognitive hindrances are regarded as the inability to perceive suchness. Wŏnhyo as a hermeneutic solves the contradiction by designating the Yogācāra stance as exoteric and the view of *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith* as esoteric. This exoteric/esoteric distinction must have been inspired by Huiyuan who in his commentary on *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith* elaborates the two hindrances very extensively, and explaines them on three levels in terms of the five entrenchments found in Tathāgatagarbha works.

Bernard Faure in his article titled *Kegon and Dragons: A Mythological Approach to Huayan Doctrine* argues that mythological elements also must be taken into consideration in explaining the Huayan impact on East Asian culture. He regards Ŭisang's *Diagram* as being rather a Tantric *maṇḍala* with four assemblies than a Chinese seal, and emphasizes its possible ritual function like other similar diagrams. In addition, Sudhana's pilgrimage depicted in *Gaṇḍavyūha* is the root-metaphor of the *Diagram*, as it starts and ends with the character Dharma, just like Sudhana who returns to his starting point. Ŭisang and Wŏnhyo became very popular figures in Japanese Buddhism. They are described as persons of opposite characters: Ŭisang went to China to study, kept strictly his monastic vows, while Wŏnhyo returned before arriving to China, and frequented taverns and brothels. Their relation with dragons and dragon-palaces also played an important role in their influence on Japanese Buddhism. As the legend has it, a young girl Shanmiao 善妙 fell in love with Ŭisang, but the monk converted her. Shanmiao became a magnificient dragon, and carried Ŭisang's boat on her back. This story is depicted in the Japanese illustrated scroll known as *Kegon engi emaki* 華嚴縁起絵巻. This legend eventually influenced the Japanese Kegon monk Myōe who had a dream of a young woman with snake-body. He made Shanmiao (J. Zenmyō) the central figure of worship in Zenmyōji, a subtemple of his temple, Kōzanji.

Huayan Buddhism was transmitted to Japan through Korea, and Kegon became one of the six schools of Nara. Emperor Shōmu (r. 724–749) regarded Kegon as a

state ideology, and started to construct the Great Buddha, representing Mahāvairocana, the Buddha of Kegon in Tōdaiji in 747. Frédéric Girard showed in his article titled *Some aspects of the Kegon doctrines at the beginning of the Kamakura Period* that even if Kegon Buddhism declined after the Nara period, it yielded certain influence on Buddhism of Heian and Kamakura periods. In Kūkai's 空海 (774–835) explanation of the realization of Buddhahood in one's own body the influence of Kegon is very obvious, as he states the unity and nonobstruction of thought, Buddha and sentient beings. Kegon served as a theoretical foundation for the Yūzū nenbutsu 融通念佛 sect established by Ryōnin 良忍 (1072–1132). This school advocated the Buddha Amida invocation in a fusional interpenetrating way. One person's invocation is fused with other persons' invocation, thus it includes all the merits accumulated through the invocations, and this will lead to the birth of all people in the Paradise of Amida. The outstanding Kegon monk of Kamakura period, Myōe 明恵 (1173–1232), who is famous for his dream diary, was a creative thinker. He boldly drew upon various tenets current at this time in order to accommodate his words to his audience. We can also detect some indirect influence of Kegon on the Zen monk, Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253) who seems to accept Kegon as the foundation of his worldview, however he disputed its doctrinal system.

The arising of nationalism in Japan before the Japan–US war gave a new impetus to the application of Kegon philosophy by leading intellectuels. ISHII Kōsei in his article titled *Kegon Philosophy and Nationalism in Modern Japan* introduces the main figures of this movement and their understanding of Kegon philosophy in the context of nationalism. The Kyoto school scholars believed that Kegon philosophy, which described the relationship between "individual" and "whole" could substantiate the new world order which is a Japanese led integration of Asia. In addition, Japanese Buddhist community also tried to establish connection between Kegon philosophy and nationalism, in order to defend itself from the Shintō chauvinists who wanted to eliminate Buddhism. However, the extreme nationalists belonged to Nichiren, Jōdoshin, Zen and other sects. Kegon philosophy seemed to be too profound for everyday political propaganda. KAMETANI Seikei 亀谷聖馨 (1858–1930) viewed Kegon philosophy from modern perspective, and regarded the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* as the supreme Buddhist scripture. KIHIRA Tadayoshi 紀平正美 (1874–1949) emphasized the superiority of Kegon over Hegelian philosophy, but was afraid of the tenet of non-obstruction between distinct phenomena, as it could lead to a Western democracy. Thus he underlined the merit of the imperial family. TSUCHIDA Kyōson 土田杏村 (1891–1934) developed his own epistology based on Kegon, and in his late years his stance was close to the state socialism. TAKAKUSU Junjirō (1866–1949), the editor of the Taishō edition of the Buddhist Canon, argued for the totaliarianism in Japan as an ancient model that should be followed in his days. D. T. SUZUKI (1870–1966) was the firs Buddhist scholar who made distinction between the philosophy of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and that of Kegon school. He thought that the doctrine of non-obstruction between distinct phenomena could provide an ideal basis for building up a democratic Japan after the war.

The Chapter Five definitely provides a rather neglected perspective on Huayan Buddhism, that is Huayan art and, in connection with the function of visual representations, Huayan ritual. Dorothy Wong's article titled *The Huayan/Kegon/Hwaŏm Paintings in East Asia, 9th–13th Centuries* focuses on the so-called *Huayan bian* 華嚴變, or "transformation tableaux" that has not received much scholarly attention. These paintings ware made to show the teaching of *sūtra* in pictorial format. First, she discusses two large portable Huayan paintings in the Pelliot collection that were recently discovered and published. One of them depicts the *Seven Locations and Nine Assemblies* while the other shows the *Ten Stages of Bodhisattvahood*. The popularity of *Huayan bian* in Dunhuang is attested by the growing number of *bianxiang* murals within a cave-chapel. Interestingly, we find almost all of them on the north wall or the north slope of ceiling, and the *bianxiang* of *Lotus Sūtra* is found on the south wall. The *bianxiang* of the *Ten Stages of Bodhisattvahood* shows the Huayan trinity, Vairocana, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, however among their entourages we also find Sudhana, the protagonist of the last chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, who visits spiritual friends in order to receive instructions on his quest for enlightenment. Thus this painting draws parallel between the two chapters of the *sūtra*. The style of murals and paintings are similar, thus we may conclude that they were executed by the same workshop or artists. Wong shows how the Huayan painitings from Kamakura period of Japan differed fromt earlier Chinese representations. The differences must be attributed to the incorporation of new styles from Song China and Myōe's synthesis of Kegon with esoteric Buddhism. Unfortunately, early Hwaŏm paintings were destroyed by Hideyoshi's campaign in the sixteenth century in Korea, but Hwaŏm paintings of eighteenth century have survived in Buddhist monasteries. These paintings seem to follow the Chinese Dunhuang examples, but the influence of later traditions also can be detected. Finally, the recent discovery of *Gaṇḍavyūha* illustrations of eleventh century in Tabo Monastery of Western Himalayas is introduced. Here, the ritual application of these illustration is quite obvious: during the ritual performance of circumambulation the practitioner follows the stages of Sudhana attaining higher level of consciousness.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ch:	Chinese
CSJ:	*Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集, T2145
D:	Derge Edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon
DZZ:	*Dōgen zenji zenshū* 道元禪師全集, ed. KAGAMISHIMA Genryū et al. Tokyo: Shunjū-sha, 1988–1993
DNBZ:	*Dainihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書, Tokyo, 1979–
GZ:	*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, T 2059
HPC:	*Han'guk pulgyo chŏnsŏ* 韓國佛教全書, Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1984
HTJ:	*Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, T 1733
HZ:	*Huayan jing zhuanji* 華嚴經傳記, T 2073
J:	Japanese
KSL:	*Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, T 2154
LSJ:	*Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶記, T 2034
MSS:	*Myōe shōnin shiryō* 明惠上人資料, ed. TSUKISHIMA Hiroshi, Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1971
NST:	*Nihon shisō taikei* 日本思想体系
P:	Peking Edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon
Skt:	Sanskrit
Ś:	*Śikṣāsamuccaya*, ed. Cecil Bendall, Bibliotheca Buddhica, St. Petersburg 1856–1906
T:	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, eds. TAKAKUSU Junjirō and WATANABE Kaigyoku, Tokyo: Daizōkyōkai, 1924–1935
XZJ:	*Xu zang jing* 續藏經, reprint of *Dainippon zokuzōkyō*
ZM:	*Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄, T 2146

JOERG PLASSEN

HUAYAN STUDIES IN THE WEST: SOME REMARKS FOCUSING ON WORKS CONCERNING THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE TRADITION

According to Robert Gimello's entry on "Hua-yen" in the *Encyclopedia of Religions* (1987), sustained Western-language study of the Huayan tradition "got off to an inauspicious start with the publication of Garma C. C. Chang's unreliable and tendentious *The Buddhist Teaching of Totality*" (1971). If we follow Gimello further, "the situation improved considerably by the appearance of Francis D. Cook's *Hua-yen Buddhism. The Net of Indra*" (1977). Besides, "two other works of lesser value" appeared "that put Hua-yen into the service of idiosyncratic Western philosophic programs": Alfonso Verdú's *Dialectical Aspects in Buddhist thought* (1974) and Steve Odin's "very odd miscellany" *Process Metaphysics and Hua-yan Buddhism* (1982).[1]

What is interesting in Gimello's statement on the major monographs available to him at that time is not so much the somewhat rigid assessment – in fact, one might be inclined to think that Verdu's book at least in part layed the groundwork for subsequent studies on the dialectics of Zongmi 宗密 (780–841), while Odin's translation of the *Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo* 一乘法界圖 introduced Ŭisang's 義湘 (625–702) thought to the Western audience – but more specifically the charge against interpretations within the framework of Western philosophies. More recently, the very same criticism has been extended not only to Cook's work, but to Western research on Huayan on a larger scale. Thus, based on a careful scrutiny of the pertinent secondary literature, Mathias Obert observes in his *Sinndeutung und Zeitlichkeit. Zur Hermeneutik des Huayan-Buddhismus* (2000):

> Vorwiegend von der amerikanischen Forschung wird die Huayan-Lehre als eine Art metaphysische Theorie, als System einer Welterkenntnis begriffen. Und implizit oder explizit wird darin stets eine Ontologie gesehen. Demnach geht es dem Huayan um die Einsicht, daß das disparate Seiende als eine universale Einheit, als Identität des Alls mit sich selbst in jedem Einzelseienden aufzufassen sei. Unausgesprochen scheint das Verständnis im Bann eines … Bildes vom sogenannten "Netz der Indra", einem Perlennetz, worin jede Perle sich in der anderen und also alles in allem sich spiegelt, zu stehen. Demnach erinnert das Weltbild des Huayan an ein – vernetztes – Beziehungsgeflecht, wobei ein Einzelnes das All enthält und umgekehrt. Es herrscht eine monistische Identität im Sein, da alle Differenz zuletzt

1 Gimello 1987: 489.

als aufgehoben gelten muß. Für dieses Modell stehen vor allem die Begriffe "Totalismus" und "Holismus" ...[2]

These remarks indicate clearly that Western research on Huayan has not yet arrived at a consensus on the basic lines of interpretation. In addition, a widespread eclectic approach to secondary literature, in particular to that written in foreign languages, more than once has lead to the rediscovery of insights phrased years before and makes it difficult to speak of a common state of research. – Nevertheless, over the past three decades some useful translations and serious scholarly contributions have appeared.[3]

While most studies on the formative period of Huayan focus on Fazang's works, Thomas Cleary's anthology *Entry into the inconceivable* (1983) contains – as already Gimello observes, sparsely annotated – translations of four works ascribed to Du Shun 杜順 (Fashun 法順, 557–640), Du Shun and Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839 or 760–820), Zhiyan 智儼 (600–668) and Fazang 法藏 (643–712).

The most important scholarly work on the early tradition, however, undoubtedly has remained Robert Gimello's groundbreaking, yet unpublished dissertation "Chih-Yen (智儼, 602–668) And The Foundations of Hua-yen (華嚴) Buddhism" (1976). As his point of departure Gimello takes a discussion of the *Huayan fajie guanmen* 華嚴法界觀門, an annotated translation of which is given in the appendices. Following the tradition's view that this (according to other scholars spurious) text indeed had been written by the "first patriarch" Du Shun 杜順, he points out that already by superceeding the extensive use of the rather negative terms *se* 色 and *kong* 空 by the use of the far more positively connotated expressions *li* 理 and *shi* 事 the latter becomes an important representative of a "new Buddhism" of his times, which is characterized precisely by this more positive evaluation of the phenomenal world as an immediate expression of reality.

On the other hand, Gimello finds that some important features of the later Huayan tradition can be found only in Zhiyan's writings, but not in the works ascribed to Du Shun, and thus searches for other strands of influences. Dedicating large portions of his work to the study of the biography of Zhiyan 智儼, Gimello not only thematizes Zhiyan's relationship towards Du Shun but also his studies under other teachers, and points out the influence which Dilun 地論 and Shelun 攝論 adherents exerted on him. After a thorough discussion of the influences of both traditions on the formation of Zhiyan's system of thought, Gimello discusses the further (aversive) stimulus encountered upon the arrival of Xuanzang's 玄藏 "new Yogācāra", opposition to which likewise determined Zhiyan's own positions.

2 Obert 2000: 29.

3 In what follows, only a few of the major contributions will be addressed. As my own field of research has been Chinese and Korean Buddhism, I will refrain from dabbling with works on Japanese Kegon. For more extensive references (also to articles in Western languages written by Japanese and Korean authors), the reader is referred to the attached bibliography, most of which has originally been compiled by Imre Hamar.

In his evaluation of Zhiyan's own contributions to the development of Huayan, Gimello comes to the conclusion that "most if not all of the major themes of Hua-yen thought – themes dimly anticipated or starkly but simply proclaimed by earlier thinkers, and themes later fashioned into grand artifices of doctrinal system by Fa-tsang – are discernible in the actual process of their formation and early growth precisely in the writings of Chih-yen".[4] The important cases of two innovations "examined in some detail", namely the development of a five-fold *panjiao* 判教 scheme and the notions of *dharmadhātu yuanqi* 法界緣起 (translated as "dharma-element dependent origination") and *xingqi* 性起 ("nature-origination"), lead Gimello to "confirm the hypothesis that Chih-yen's thought was a, perhaps the, crucial factor in the inception of what would come to be Hua-yen Buddhism" and a "severe qualification of the conventional judgement that Fa-tsang is the real 'founder' or even the 'first systematizer' of Hua-yen".[5]

While a more careful reading of Gimello's groundbreaking monograph might have precluded the ubiquitous emphasis on Fazang's role as "the great systematizer"[6], the impact of its premises concerning the significance of the innovations ascribed to Du Shun in the so-called process of "sinification" might be termed somewhat problematic. In fact, Gimello's dissertation and his related article "Apophatic and kataphatic discourse in Mahāyāna" (1976) not only contributed to entrench YŪKI Reimons paradigm of a Sui-T'ang "New Buddhism", and at the same time perpetuated Demiéville's somewhat simplicistic model of a three-phased development of Chinese Buddhism entailing an initial reception with Daoist bias before the 5th c., a turn towards the Indian sources after the arrival of Kumārajīva and a renewed begin of sinification in the 7th–8th c. (with the modification of antedating the last phase by a century).[7]

The contrast which Gimello sets up between Nāgārjuna's Madhyamaka and Du Shun's early Huayan thought in fact tends to overshadow that the shift towards cataphasis and affirmation of the phenomenal evolved more organically, and at least in part on the basis of Madhyamaka: Based on MMK 24:18, the Sanlun 三論 masters Falang 法朗 (507–581) and Jizang 吉藏 (549–623) in their struggle against any form of dualistic attachment eventually also turned upon fellow exegetes seperating the "middle" and "the provisional", and as a remedy taught that the "one middle" is identical with the "provisional" and can be found in all dharmas.[8] Eventually resorting more to methods outlined in the "Qi wu lun" 齊物論 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*

4 Gimello 1976: 446.

5 Gimello 1976: 447.

6 Other victims of this paradigm, which betrays little more heuristic value than proving the scholastic bias on the side of those employing it, would be Jizang 吉藏 (549–623) or Zhiyi 智顗 (531–597), which all too often become the "systematizers" of Sanlun and Tientai, respectively.

7 Demiéville: "La pénétration du Bouddhisme dans la tradition philosophique Chinoise." *Cahiers d'historie mondiale* (1956) 3.1: pp. 19–38, here p. 35. The same scheme is followed by Gregory in his book on Zongmi, although he only refers to Yūki and Gimello. See Gregory 2002: 3–4.

8 T 1853: 45.19b18–c5 and T 1853: 45.76c2–4. The first quote from a *sūtra* adduced to validate this stance usually is from the *Huayanjing*.

莊子 and the Guo Xiang 郭象 (?–312) commentary than to Nāgārjuna's *prasaṅga*, at the same time they developed kataphatic modes of "cleansing" and "exhausting" the dharmas which were based more on universal affirmation rather than on consequent denial.[9]

Although this exegesis-as-practice in the last resort remained apophatic in nature (in as much as its kataphatic techniques still aimed at wiping away all differentiations), its exegetical formulae bore a lasting effect on those employed in Huayan,[10] and one might suggest that the kataphasis of the emerging Huayan tradition can be also viewed as yet another step further in the dialectics of *chongxuan* 重玄: the negation of the very principle of negation by affirmation.[11]

The eclipse of this strand also explains in part why the inspiration for Zhiyan's borrowing of the term "inexhaustible" (*wuqiong* 無窮) from the *Zhuangzi* somewhat ironically[12] has been sought only very vaguely in Tan Qian's 曇遷 (542–607) *Wang shifei lun* 亡是非論, apparently solely because it is contained along with other texts

9 One of the most important modes of exegesis employed by Fazang and Jizang, *wufang shi[yi]* 無方釋[義] ("setting free the [meanings] without limit"), in which the conceptual borders of a given term or set of terms are torn down by attributing all sorts of (often conflicting) meanings, is glossed with a reference to the *Huayan jing*:

> Fourth, setting free [the meanings] without limit: The *Huayan jing* says: "In the one [dharma the Buddha] explains inexhaustible [dharmas], in exhaustible [dharmas he] explains the one [dharma]." 四無方釋。華嚴云一中解無量無量中解一 (T 1720: 34.394a20f.)

In the context of such "deconstructive" exegesis, Jizang frequently employs the term *wuai* 無礙 ("non-hindrance"). While his usage of the term seems to be indebted to the *Fahua lun* 法華論, it in turn might have influenced the adoption of this expression in the emerging Huayan tradition.

For a treatment of Jizang's and Falang's cataphatic exegesis and its foundations, cf. my "Die Spuren der Abhandlung (Lun-chi). Exegese und Übung im San-lun des sechsten Jahrhunderts." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hamburg, 2002 [2000].

10 A masterful discussion of the impact of formulae employed by Jizang and his predecessor Sengzhao on Fazang can be found in Kim Hau: "Samnon-gwa Hwaŏmgye (Wŏnhyo, Pŏbjang kye)-ŭi chŏn'o pangsik" 三論과華嚴系(元曉·法藏系)의轉悟方式 [Methods leading towards awakening in the Sanlun and Huayan/Hwaŏm (Wŏnhyo, Fazang) lineages], *Ch'ŏrhak yŏn'gu* (1982) 6.1: pp. 5–31.

11 It should be noted, however, that the Sanlun masters Jizang and Falang appear to have been more concerned with dharmas in the sense of verbal teachings than of mental phenomena in general. – While their Sanlun practice resorts mainly to the use of exegetical formulae in order to "cleanse" language and thus lead to liberation from/through its traps, early Huayan practice appears to focus more on (as we shall see, similarily structured) visions of mental states to be contemplated upon in order to lead to the experience of the "inconceivable".

12 The use of Daoist vocabulary in this text overtly mimics the argumentations within the Sanlun milieu. These are criticized for futile negative dialectics, which should be replaced by *wuxin* 無心 meditation. Cf. the similar phrasings in the excerpts from the *Wu zheng lun* 無爭論 and the *Ming dao lun* 明道論 in *Chenshu* 陳書, *juan* 30, "Lie zhuan" 列傳 24, entry "Zhuan Suo" 傳索 (Yao Silian 姚思廉, *Chen shu* 陳書, [*Ershiwu shi* 二十五史, vol. 9]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju (1972), vol. 2, pp. 402–405).

in Zhiyan's *Huayan jing nei zhangmen kongmu zhang* 華嚴經內章門孔目章 and refers to the *Zhuangzi*, while actual uses of the term with the same connotations within the Sanlun tradition have been overlooked.[13]

As already the title of LIU Ming-Wood's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation "The teaching of Fa-Tsang: an examination of Buddhist metaphysics" (1979) suggests, the initially quoted reservations concerning the presuppositions underlying much of the mainstream research are not unfounded. In fact, Fazang's "system of thought" has been the object of a plethora of studies, many of which focus on a discussion of the "part-whole relationships" of the *Jin shizi zhang* 金獅子章. Likewise, philosophically-minded comparisons with Process philosophy have persisted until the very present.[14]

However, already Gimello regards the "discernments" of the *Huayan fajie guanmen* as "products of a meditative encounter with the Avataṃsakasūtra", which were "explicitly intended as devices by means of which the grand visions and vistas of that immense scripture could be incorporated into an individual's practice of meditation and thereby transformed from text into religious experience."[15]

An even more pronounced stance is taken by Dale S. Wright in his seminal article "The significance of paradoxical language in Hua-yen Buddhism" (1982). Wright delineates three types of paradox frequently found in Fazang's writings, all of which "originate in a tension between conventional truth (*chen-ti/paramārthasatya*) and ultimate truth (*su-ti/saṃvṛtisatya*)". The third of these types he relates directly to the doctrine of "non-obstruction of phenomena" (*shishi wu'ai* 事事無礙): In as much as this "doctrine" entails that "when the ultimate truth of emptiness

13 Thus, ISHII Kōsei in identifying Zhiyan 智儼 as the originator of a shift in the interpretation of the phrase *wuqiong* 無窮 from "regressus ad infinitum" to "inexhaustible" follows a claim by Fazang:

> For what reason? – Because the Three Vehicles consider this inexhaustibility to be an error and mis[apprehension], and because, [although] such is the case, this one-vehicle considers the inexhaustibility to be a virtue of the real. – That is all! 何以故三乘以此無窮爲過失故 然此一乘以無窮爲實德故耳 (*Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章, T 1866: 45b27–29, quoted in Ishii Kōsei 石井公正: *Kegon shisō no kenkyū* 華厳思想の研究. Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1996: 300).

This "positive" usage, however, in fact can be already found with Jizang:

> I explain: the functions and achievements of *prajñā* are inexhaustible, they are capable of giving rise to the Buddhas, capable of manifesting the [true characteristics of the] world, and are capabable of cutting off the vexations. 明般若功用無窮 能生諸佛 能示世間 能斷煩惱 (*Jin'gang banruo shu* 金剛般若疏, T 1699: 33.115b.7f.)
> Because [the Buddha] embodies the unhindered Way, it has unhindered functions; matching boundless conditioned [living beings], [he] reacts in [the form of] inexhausible benefits. 良由 體無礙之道故 有無礙之用 適無方之緣 應無窮之益 (*Fahua yishu* 法華義疏, T 1721: 34.592c4f.)

14 The latest such attempt is Dirck Vorenkamp's "Reconsidering the Whiteheadian Critique of Huayan Temporal Symmetry in light of Fazang's Views" (2005).

15 Gimello 1976: 129. Also, cf. the analytic category "meditative concept" introduced in Gimello 1983: 156f.

becomes manifest to the viewer, each phenomenon is paradoxically perceived as interpenetrating with and containing all others", it constitutes a "paradoxical violation of the conventional order of time and space".[16] Thus effectively having reduced the "doctrine" to the paradoxical pattern underlying similes to be visualized as a means for spiritual cultivation (such as the notion of the single hair of the lion), Wright in the end arrives at the following conclusions:

> For Hua-yen Buddhists, the sudden breakthrough of enlightenment does not entail the relevation of any absolute doctrines or principles. The experience of emptiness is one which precludes any positive, graspable content. Ultimate truth is not conditioned by any form or conceptual structure. Religious doctrines and symbols that are illuminated in the experience are illuminated precisely in their emptiness, that is, no doctrine or symbol is absolute or permanent ...[17]

Nevertheless, a ranking among different doctrines is possible. This, however, would only refer to their efficiacy: According to the concept of *upāya*,

> ... doctrines and symbols are true as long as, and to the extent that, they effectively evoke an immediate and self-authenticating awareness of "ultimate truth". Their truth is not the correspondence of their content with reality, but rather their relative capacity to point beyond their own empty form to the ground of all form in emptiness.
>
> Thus the concept of truth that obtains in Hua-yen texts does not involve a correspondence between a concept of reality and the reality that the concept attempts to grasp. Ultimately, no such correspondence is possible given the Buddhist concept of emptiness. Ultimate truth, therefore, does not not involve a set of propositions about reality but is an immediate awareness of reality itself. For Hua-yen Buddhists, truth is what is revealed from beyond the limits of reality (shih-chi/*bhūtakoti*) when thought appropriately opens itself to its source and foundation ...[18]

Along very similar lines proceeds Mathias Obert's *Sinndeutung und Zeitlichkeit: Zur Hermeneutik des Huayan-Buddhismus* (2000), which is definitely not easy reading, but for its discussion of the metaphor of Indra's net alone might deserve to be regarded the most penetrative philosophical study from the perspective of Fazang and his predecessors published so far. Approaching the topic through a more careful reading of the pertaining passages of the *Huayan wujiao zhiguan famen* 華嚴五教止觀法門, which the tradition ascribes to Du Shun, Obert subjects core terms such as *fajie* 法界 to a painstaking scrutiny and at the same time goes to lengths to demonstrate that metaphors such as the endlessly multiplying images in the net of Indra eventually elude any philosophical grasp.

Perhaps most importantly, Obert also reminds us that the terms *ci* 此 and *bi* 彼 employed in the description of the mutual mirroring of the pearls usually refer to "oneself" and the "others". Thus, he arrives at an interpretation in which the simile of the net of Indra does not provide a description of an objective reality, but rather describes and gives instructions for the very act of contemplation itself:

16 Wright: 336.
17 Ibid., 336.
18 Ibid., 337.

> In einer "prinzipiellen Hellsichtigkeit" ferner uns dieser Erfahrung selbst auszusetzen, uns also in irgendeine Perle einmal leibhaftig hineinzubegeben, lädt uns Du Shun ein (s. S.513b2: *qu*, ergreifen; b7: *zuo*, sich setzen). Wir könnten dann sehen, wie schlagartig alle Perlen um uns her ineinander aufgegangen und zu einem rundum erfüllten, zugleich in unendliche Tiefen sich ausdehnenden Spiegelraum verschmolzen wären. Wir selbst wären nicht mehr, wären eins geworden mit unserer Umgebung. Alles um uns herum wäre glitzerndes Spiegeln und Schauen aus unendlich vielen Augen zugleich. Der Blick nach außen in den Spiegel hätte sich ganz in eine innere Reflexivität verwandelt. Wir hätten mit einem Schlage die Zeit verlassen, da Schauen eins mit Spiegeln wäre und sich nichts mehr rührte in dieser totalen Transparenz zwischen uns und der nahegerückten Unendlichkeit.[19]

As the above passage suggests, the author of the *Huayan wujiao zhiguan famen* speaks based on an experience made from the position of one of the perls within the net. Thus, in his discussion of the ensuing question-answer sections we further read:

> Der Sinn des Gleichnisses liegt für ihn in der Tatsächlichkeit der Schau von einem konkreten Standort aus. Es geht ihm nicht um die theoretische Konstruktion der Vision im Perlennetz. Er spricht von der Erfahrung der Perlen in einer her; er spricht selbst schon von einer Perle aus. Nicht hingegen bedenkt er, wie der Schüler und wie wir es immerzu tun, den Aufbau des Spiegelbildes vom Perlennetz her und außen.[20]

To Obert, the very insight into the hermeneutic necessity for the sentient being to consciously assume a specific perspective within space and time to enter practice constitutes the real advance inherent in the Huayan tradition's turn to the phenomenal. Consequently, Obert dedicates large portions of his work to a discussion of the aspect of time, expressedly carrying on the research work begun by Robert Heinemann in his seminal *Der Weg des Übens im ostasiatischen Mahayana. Grundformen seiner Zeitrelation zum Übungsziel in seiner Entwicklung bis Dōgen* (1979), much of which is dedicated to Chinese Huayan.[21]

While the study of early Huayan thought in the West thus has made some significant progress during the last 30 years, our knowledge of its precise historical development remains rather vague and at the same time preliminary due to the rather deplorable state of text critical research. In fact, after Gimello's meticulous, but in the last resort unconclusive[22] efforts to solve the doubts surrounding the *Huayan fajie guanmen* 華嚴法界觀, there appear to have been no further attempts to take up

19 Obert, op. cit., p. 127f.
20 Ibid., 129.
21 Coincidentially, the issue of time had been raised again also by Dirck Vorenkamp in his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation "Hua-yen Buddhism: Faith and Time in Fa-tsang's Thought" (1997), which unfortunately has not been available to me when writing this article. Also, it was soon to be rediscovered by Dale S. Wright. Cf. Wright 2001.
22 Thus, Peter N. Gregory agrees with KIMURA Kiyotaka "that the evidence is ultimately unconclusive, and that we must suspend final judgement on the matter", and yet, "for sake of simplicity", prefers to "talk as if Du Shun were the author" of the text. See Gregory 1991: 5, n. 3.

the problem of the autenticity of this work or the likewise spurious *Huayan wujiao zhiguan famen* 華嚴五教止觀法門.[23]

In a similar vein, largely due to an approach towards East Asian Buddhist history proceeding very much along 19th/20th century national lines and despite rather early cautions[24] still being very much informed by the later construction of a patriarchal succession line, the influences of Hwaŏm thought in Silla both on early Chinese Huayan as such as well as on the textual transmission of Huayan texts in Japan have scarcely been addressed in the West. The major studies bringing this strand within the emerging Huayan traditions to attention of a wider audience have remained Odin's already quoted monograph dealing with Ŭisang and, more indirectly, Antonino Forte's publications on the letter Fazang purportedly sent to his elder co-disciple Ŭisang, which culminated in his precious little monograph *A Jewel In Indra's Net: The Letter Sent By Fazang In China To Ŭisang In Korea* (2000).

The Western academia dealing with Fazang also does not seem to have been too much disturbed by the recent discoveries of "Pseudo-Fazang" writings. Somewhat ironically, it was Boudewijn Walraven, better known as the leading Western specialist on Korean Shamanism, who attempted to draw attention to KIM Sang-hyun's [Kim Sanghyŏn] 金相鉉 pathbreaking discovery that the text known as *Huayan wenda* 華嚴問答, which traditionally had been ascribed to Fazang, actually is identical with the *Ch'udong gi* 錐洞記, the transcript of a lecture by Ŭisang prepared by one of his disciples, a text thitherto known only through quotations.[25]

Perhaps even more importantly, in-depth studies both on the influence of early Huayan thought on Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617–686) and the actual impact of his works on Fazang have remained desiderata, although it is widely acknowledged that not only Chengguan but also Fazang, although in very different manners, were affected by the former's commentaries on the *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論.[26]

We will probably have to wait until the tidal wave of cultural studies has ebbed away to see most of the necessary historically and philologically oriented studies on Fazang's works vis-à-vis those of his contemporaries. However, at least the study of historical matters in the narrower sense has reached a state comparable to that of Gimello's research on Zhiyan. Thus, with articles such as "More Than a Philosopher: Fazang (643–712) as a Politician and Miracle-worker" (2003) Chen Jinhua has forwarded a series of interesting contributions dealing with different aspects of Fazang's

23 Some authoritative Japanese scholars consider the latter text an early draft of Fazang's. Cf. the laconic ascription to Fazang in Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄: *Chūgoku bukkyō shi* 中国仏教史, vol. 6. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shupansha, p. 661.

24 Cf. Robert Gimello's dismissal of the "standard view" of the Huayan tradition "as having consisted essentially in the thought of the 'five patriarchs'" as a "drastic over-simplification of the actual complexity of its history" in his "Li T'ung-hsüan and the Practical Dimensions of Hua-yen". See Gimello 1983: 321.

25 Walraven 1996.

26 Although in fact very much centered on Wŏnhyo, initial attempts have been made by Sung Bae Park. See Park 1980, 2003.

biography, and a monograph on this topic by the same author is to appear in the near future.

While much is left to be done to facilitate a better understanding of the early phases of the nascent tradition, we have a much better picture of the later tradition as represented by last "patriarch" Zongmi 宗密 (780–841), and thus also of its relations with the Chan and Sŏn lineages. During the 1980s, Peter N. Gregory authored a range of publications centering around on Zongmi's thought, which became the basis of his multifaceted *Zongmi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (1991). In this outstanding monograph, Gregory not only provides a detailed treatment of Zongmi's biography, but far-reaching accounts of the development of *panjiao* 判教 schemes from Zhiyan to Zongmi, the role of the *Dasheng qixin lun* in the latter's thought as the conceptional fundament of practice, as well as Zongmi's understanding of Daoism and Confucianism and his impact of Neo-Confucianism.

Drawing also on LIU Ming-wood's earlier articles and in particular on research by Japanese scholars such as YOSHIZU Yoshihide, the part dedicated to the classification of doctines describes how Zhiyan's heuristic, and therefore variable *panjiao* schemes were supplanted by Fazang with a fixed system geared at establishing the superiority of the *Huayan jing*, and how the gradual shift in emphasis from *shishi wu'ai* 事事無礙 to *lishi wu'ai* 理事無礙 already observable already in Chengguan's works paved the way for Zongmi to eventually elevate the *Dasheng qixin lun* to the rank of the most authoritative text.

As Gregory convincingly sets forth in the next part of his monograph, the reasons behind this radical change reflected Zongmi's desire to "provide an ontological basis and philosophical rationale for Ch'an practice", "an ontology that locates enlightenment within the original nature of man and at the same time furnished an explanation of how the process of delusion arises and perpetuates itself", thus "establishing "a clear linkage between the ontological basis of reality and ethical behavior and thereby to check the antinomian dangers that he perceived in the Pao-t'ang 保唐 and Hung-chou 洪州 teachings".[27] In the following chapter on "The Role of emptiness" it is pointed out that another reason for Zongmi to assign special value to the *tathāgatagarbha* theory as represented by the *Dasheng qixin lun* was that in its emphasis on the non-empty aspects of the mind it provided "a rationale by which the radical apophasis of Madhyamaka could be subordinated to a more kataphatic mode of discourse".[28] – Given his teacher Chengguan's appreciation of Wŏnhyo's *Taesŭng kisillon sŏ* 大乘起信論疏, one at this point might raise the question whether Zongmi in what appears to be a criticism mainly of the Niutou 牛頭 faction was influenced by Wŏnhyo's much earlier appreciation of this text as encompassing unlimited apophasis and kataphasis.

27 Gregory 1991: 19, characters added. The somewhat confusing title of the first pertaining chapter, "A Cosmogonic Map of Buddhist Practice", apparently actually is meant to refer to what is also labeled as "psychocosmogony" (p. 175), i.e. an outline of the paths along which delusion or awakening unfold.

28 Ibid., 206.

In the last part, an insightful comparison with the Neo-Confucian tradition is drawn: Viewing Zongmi's ethical concern as a reflex of his early Confucian educational background, Gregory demonstrates that Zongmi's "attempt to articulate the ultimate ground for religious practice, and his related criticism of the more radical interpretations of Ch'an, foreshadow both the general concerns and specific moves seen in Chu Hsi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) Neo-Confucian criticism of Buddhism".[29]

Although the panoramic view on the development of Huayan thought from the perspective of Zongmi forwarded in Gregory's scholarly work is truly magnificient, again – in part also following the lead of Carl Bielefeldt's review on Gregory's book[30] – some reservations concerning the interpretation of the various processes in the framework of "sinification" might be in place. Thus, it would amount to cultural essentialism if we assumed that a more ontologically and at the same time ethically oriented framework of psychic cosmogony suited "the Chinese mind" better than notions of emptiness cherished for centuries. In fact, the preoccupation with cosmogony in the narrower sense had been left behind already within Xuanxue 玄學, on the basis of autochthonous texts. Perhaps not incidentially occurring in parallel with the rise of Chan, the increasing dominance of the *Dasheng qixin lun* in East Asian Buddhism might be viewed as one of the first signs of a regression into naïve metaphysics eventually culminating in Neo-Confucianism.

Research on the fourth patriarch Chengguan had initially been somewhat neglected in the West, but since more recently Imre Hamar, following a broad approach very much in line with that of Gregory, has forwarded a series of publications on Chengguan's biography and diverse aspects of his thought. In articles such as "Chengguan's Theory of the Four Dharma-Dhātus" (1998) and "Practice and Enlightenment in Chengguan's Philosophy" (2003), Hamar synthesizes Chengguan's cardinal tenets based on extensive translations from the sources into accessible representations.

While thus gradually an idea of Chengguan's thought has begun to emerge, these studies also complement the research done by Gregory in as much they not only touch upon conceptual differences to Fazang's works, but also upon later developments in Zongmi's works, showing more clearly the preliminary work Zongmi could build upon and the options he had at his disposal when developing concepts such as the "sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation".

29 Ibid., 19, characters added.

30 Although careful enough to state that he is not denying "any process of sinification", Bielefeldt cautions us

> "... to go slowly – taking the time to recognize that was passes for the process in China may sometimes be a reflection of developments in India, pausing along the way to notice the variety and tensions in both cultures and to wonder whether for every Nāgārjuna preaching emptiness there may not be a Paramārtha somewhere teaching the *amala-vijñāna* to the Chinese, whether for every Tsung-mi elaborating a cosmological vision there may not be a Chih-i warning against the evils of a Sānkhya-style foundationalism".

Cf. Bielefeldt 1993–1994: 449.

Within the last 30 years, the study of Huayan Buddhism in the West eventually has got off to an auspicious start. It is to be hoped that the present volume will give it a further impetus.

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KIMURA KIYOTAKA

HUAYAN/KEGON STUDIES IN JAPAN

In Japan, Kegon studies, roughly speaking, started at the time of transmission of Buddhism in the sixth century. From that time, the tradition of Kegon studies has been maintained to the present time, although having been experiencing up and downs for about fifteen hundred years.

However, these were, at least until Edo period, fundamentally such researches as deepening belief and religious practice by monks of the Kegon school, relying on the traditional method of studies generally called *Shūgaku* 宗學, which literally means "the special study on the doctrine of each school of Buddhism". Therefore, the results of their studies were, on the whole, not necessarily sufficient, if seen from the viewpoint of objective way of science. But, some Buddhist scholars, including Hōtan 鳳潭 (1654 or 1659–1738) of the Kegon school and Fujaku 普寂 (1707–1781) of the Jōdo school, in Edo period, when a scent of modernizing of Japan has gradually been appearing, produced a couple of academic results of the Kegon studies highly appreciated.

When the door of Meiji Era was opened and modernizing of Japan began in full-scale, new waves of Buddhist studies also occurred in Japan under the influence of European way of studies of humanity and social science, especially so-called philology. But, it seems that these waves came to the field of Kegon studies a little behind, because they have had a long and heavy tradition of their own studies, whose center had almost always been at the Tōdaiji temple in Nara. I would like to list up here some notable works in the field of Kegon from Meiji to the early days of Shōwa, that is, from the last quarter of nineteenth century to the first half of twentieth century.

YUSUGI Ryōei 湯次了栄: *Kegon taikei* 華嚴大系 [The great system of Huayan doctrine].

As a whole, the author adequately summed the results of traditional Kegon studies by Ichiren-in Shūson 一蓮院秀存, one of the excellent Buddhist scholars in Edo period, in this book.

KAMETANI Seikei 亀谷聖馨: *Kegon tetsugaku kenkyū* 華嚴哲學研究 [Studies in Huayan philosophy].

The author discusses some important themes of Kegon philosophy in detail.

KAMETANI Seikei: *Kegon seiten kenkyū* 華嚴聖典研究 [Studies in sacred scriptures of Huayan].
Deploring that Japanese Buddhists have not attached importance to the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra,* the author interprets the outline of it.

KAMETANI Seikei: *Budda no saikō tetsugaku to Kanto no tetsugaku* 佛陀の最高哲學とカントの哲學 [The ultimate philosophy of Buddha and the philosophy of Kant].
The author shows his interest in comparative studies between Buddhist philosophy and European philosophies, as well as his other researches from such a viewpoint.

SUZUKI Sōchū 鈴木宗忠: *Genshi kegon tetsugaku no kenkyū* 原始華嚴哲學の研究 [A study of early Huayan philosophy].
The author asserts that Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668) should be regarded as the first patriarch of Chinese Huayan school, criticizing the traditional view on the founder.

TAKAMINE Ryōshū 高峯了州: *Kegon shisōshi* 華嚴思想史 [A history of Huayan thought].
This is probably the first work on Huayan thought written from a historical viewpoint in Japan and still now worthy for students of Huayan philosophy. Its revised version was published in 1963 by Hyakka-en in Kyoto.

KAMEKAWA Kyōshin 亀川教信: *Kegongaku* 華嚴學 [The Huayan doctrine].
Huayan doctrine is properly summarized in this book.

After 1950's, a series of new trends of Huayans studies have appeared in succession.

SUZUKI Daisetsu 鈴木大拙: *Kegon no kenkyū* 華嚴の研究 [Studies in Huayan].
This book includes four articles in the "Zen-ron" (Discussion on Chan) formerly published in English. According to the author's preface, Huayan can be regarded as one of the epoch-making crystallization in the world history of ideas. This work has led the useful comparative studies in Japan to some degree.

SAKAMOTO Yukio 坂本幸男: *Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū* 華嚴教學の研究 [A study of Huayan doctrine].
This work clarifies the important role of Huiyuan 慧苑 (673–743) through the history of Huayan thought, who was a disciple of Fazang 法蔵 (643–712), the third patriarch of Huayan school.

TAKAMINE Ryōshū: *Kegon to Zen no tsūro* 華嚴と禪の通路 [The passage of Huayan to Chan].
The author discusses philosophical relations between Huayan and Chan over many cases of Buddhist thought in China.

KAWADA Kumatarō 川田熊太郎 and NAKAMURA Hajime 中村元 (eds.): *Kegon shisō* 華嚴思想 [The Huayan thought].
A comprehensive collection of illuminating papers on Huayan.

ISHII Kyōdō 石井教道: *Kegon kyōgaku seiritsu shi* 華嚴教學成立史 [A historical survey of establishment of Huayan doctrines].
Compilation of author's studies of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* as a Mahāyāna text and Huayan doctrine formed in China. Some important issues are analyzed from historical or philosophical point of view.

KAMATA Shigeo 鎌田茂雄: *Chūgoku kegon shisōshi no kenkyū* 中國華嚴思想史の研究 [A study of Chinese Huayan Buddhism].
This book, which is the author's Ph. D. dissertation, with special reference to Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839), the fourth patriarch of the Huayan school, is especially notable for it opened the door to the way toward a full-scale study on Huayan thought in Japan from the historical point of view.

KAMATA Shigeo 鎌田茂雄: *Shūmitsu kyōgaku no shisōshi-teki kenkyū* 宗密教學の思想的研究 [A historical study of Zongmi's doctrine].
He intended to grasp Zongmi's 宗密 (780–841) biography and his thought totally and succeeded to clarify that Zongmi was a radical Chan Buddhist as well as a philosopher who tried to unify Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism.

Being much influenced by Dr. KAMATA Shigeo's works, I wrote the following dissertation under the guidance of TAMAKI Kōshirō 玉城康四郎, not only a professor of the University of Tokyo, but also one of the great philosophers in modern Japan.

KIMURA Kiyotaka 木村清孝: *Shoki chūgoku kegon shisō no kenkyū* 初期中國華嚴思想の研究 [A study of early Huayan thought].
This work attempts to clarify the second patriarch Zhiyan's thought, its significance, and the background for its establishment from a viewpoint of the history of ideas as far as possible.

Since then, some illuminating young scholars appeared in the field of Huayan study.

ITŌ Zuiei 伊藤瑞叡: *Kegon bosatsudō no kiso-teki kenkyū* 華嚴菩薩道の基礎的研究 [A basic study on bodhisattva-caryā in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*].
This is the author's Ph. D. dissertation, which carried out a minute research on the thought of bodhisattva in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, including a comparative study of Huayan thought with Fahua 法華 thought based on the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra.*

NAKAMURA Kaoru 中村薫: *Kegon no jōdo* 華嚴の淨土 [The Pure Land in the Huayan] and *Chūgoku kegon jōdo shisō no kenkyū* 中國華嚴淨土思想の研究 [A Study of the Pure Land thought of Kegon in China].
The author deals with some important issues such as the vow, the belief, the meaning of Pure Land and so on, in these two works. It is note-worthy that the latter work discusses the criticism against the Japanese Pure Land school by YANG Renshan 楊仁山, who was one of the great Buddhists in Modern China.

YOSHIZU Yoshihide 吉津宜英: *Kegon ichijō shisō no kenkyū* 華嚴一乘思想の研究 [A study of the ekayāna thought in the Huayan].
This work focuses on the elucidation of characteristics of Fazang's doctrine. It is especially important for it has clarified the concept of *yisheng biejiao* 一乘別教 (transcendency of *ekayāna*) in detail.

ISHII Kōsei 石井公成: *Kegon shisō no kenkyū* 華嚴思想の研究 [A study of Huayan thought].
Fully utilizing computer's function, the author has developed the study of Huayan thought. It is appreciated in particular that he made clear the Dilun 地論 school's influence on the doctrine of the Huayan school to some extent and the actual state of affairs of Buddhism in Silla, Korea.

As known, the study on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and the doctrine of the Huayan school has made rapid progress in Japan in connection with the development of global communication to the present days. And now, new waves of Huayan studies seem to have been appearing again. One of them is a newly-designed philosophical exploration of Huayan thought, to which I also concern myself, to aim to reconsider it truly beyond the sectarian range. I strongly expect a sort of spiritual movements like this for the future of mankind.

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ZHU QINGZHI

BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE PAST 25 YEARS OF HUAYAN STUDIES IN MAINLAND CHINA

This paper introduces briefly the past 25 years of Huayan studies in Mainland China. Summarizing the main publications in the field, it provides an objective overview of the results and content of these studies. As a general principle, no subjective evaluation shall be given.

Huayan was a branch of Chinese Buddhism that began during the Tang. Although as a school it does not have a long history, its ideology and philosophy have exerted a tremendous influence on Chinese culture both within and outside the scope of Buddhism. The scholarly study of Huayan Buddhism in the modern sense of the word started during the 1920's and 1930's. Nevertheless, in this paper we will only introduce the past 25 years of Huayan studies in Mainland China, with special emphasis on the past 10 years.[1]

The reforms that began in the late 1970's in Mainland China have brought about not only economic prosperity but also the prosperity of scholarly research, including that of religious studies. From the perspective of the progress and output of academic research, these past 25 years can be divided into two main phases:

The first phase represents the period of recovery for Buddhist studies, lasting from the end of 1970's until the beginning of 1990's. During this period, the new generation of scholars was still in school, thus the few scholars belonging to the older generation primarily conducted research. As a result, the amount of scholarly output was also rather small. The publications of this period included two main categories. On the first hand, there were the new editions of works already published in the past, serving as an immediate solution for a pressing demand. On the other hand, there were also some large-scale historical works on Chinese Buddhism and Chinese philosophy compiled and edited by mid-generation scholars under the direction of an elder authority. These publications usually combined scholarly and

1 Earlier studies can primarily be tied to TANG Yongtong 汤用彤. Tang in a section called "The Huayan school" in Chapter 4 of *Sui Tang Fojiao shigao* 隋唐佛教史稿 provided a detailed account of creation of the Huayan school, the lineage of the patriarchs and the history of the school's development. He pointed out that the prosperity of Huayan "was due to 1) Fazang's propagation; 2) the translation and distribution of the *Huayan jing*; 3) the support of Empress Wu Zetian." This study represented a milestone in Huayan research.

popular approaches in crystallizing the results of former studies. Consequently, dedicated studies of individual topics such as Huayan Buddhism typically appeared only as part of larger works.

The second phase, beginning in the early 1990's, represents the period of prosperity in Buddhist studies. During this period, following the previous phase of recovery, mid-generation scholars have reached a period of creativity in their careers. At the same time, the new generation also appeared on the scene, lending an enormous momentum to research. The sudden increase in the amount of publications related to Buddhism during this period is clearly perceptible. In terms of both their scope and depth, these works have gone far beyond former results. Similarly, the number of studies focusing on Huayan Buddhism has increased significantly too.

First let us look at phase one.

In 1980, GUO Peng 郭朋 published his work titled *Sui Tang fojiao* 隋唐佛教. This book was the author's first work in a multi-volume series of dynastic histories of Buddhism. At the same time, this was also the first monograph published by a Mainland Chinese scholar on Sui and Tang Buddhism. In Chapter 4, titled "Tangdai de fojiao 唐代的佛教 [The history of Tang Buddhism]," the author discussed the lives and the philosophy of Huayan patriarchs, introduced the main canonical work of Huayan Buddhism (i.e. *Huayan jing* 华严经), and described in relatively great detail the "basic philosophy of the Huayan school," including the concepts of dharma-realm origination (*fajie yuanqi* 法界缘起), six characteristics (*liuxiang* 六相) and ten mysterious gates (*shi xuanmen* 十玄门). The most remarkable part in this chapter was the author's view that the Huayan school was established to meet the needs of Wu Zetian's 武则天 government.

Zhongguo fojiao shi 中国佛教史, edited by REN Jiyu 任继愈, DU Jiwen 杜继文, YANG Zengwen 杨曾文 at al. began appearing in 1981. This was a collective work of Mainland Chinese scholars who studied Chinese Buddhism in a scientific way. Most of the people who participated in writing the topics were eminent scholars of the history of Chinese Buddhism, representing the best of contemporary academia. In Chapter 2, Volume 3 (1989), the second section bore the title "Dafangguang fo huayan jing de sixiang pouxi 大方广佛华严经的思想剖析 [An analysis of the philosophy of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaipulya-sūtra*]" provided a comprehensive and systematic analysis of the main canonical work of the Huayan school, offering a number of new insights.

Simultaneously, REN Jiyu's (ed.) multi-volume work called *Zhongguo zhexue fazhan shi* 中国哲学发展史 (from 1983) began appearing too. The authors of this work were also the most distinguished scholars of the history of Chinese philosophy. The Sui and Tang volume (1994) had a chapter titled "Huayanzong zhexue sixiang 华严宗哲学思想 [The philosophy of the Huayan school]" which primarily discussed Huayan teachings such as nature-origination, inexhaustible conditioned arising, five doctrines and ten schools, and the expedient five natures. In addition, the chapter compared the philosophy of the Huayan and Tiantai schools.

Beside these, in 1991 DU Jiwen 杜继文 published his college textbook called *Fojiao shi* 佛教史. This was the first college textbook in Mainland China with Buddhism as its main subject. The work had a chapter called "Huayanzong de zongjiao lilun tixi 华严宗的宗教理论体系 [Religious ideology of the Huayan school]" which briefly described the essence, formation, and unique features of the concept of dharma-realm origination (*fajie yuanqi* 法界缘起) used in Huayan thought to interpret the origins of human life and the universe.

There were very few publications in this period with a direct focus on the Huayan school. The most important ones are as follows:

HUANG Chanhua 黄忏华, "Xianshou zong 贤首宗 [Xianshou school]" (1980). The article introduced the history and the main teachings of the Huayan school in a relatively systematic way.

REN Jiyu, "Huayanzong zhexue sixiang lüelun 华严宗哲学思想略论" (1981). The article analyzed Huayan philosophy from a variety of aspects. Ren claimed that "among the many schools of Chinese Buddhism, the Huayan school paid particular attention to describing categories. It dealt with concept pairs such as individual and common, equal and different, birth and destruction, time and space, original substance and phenomenon. From a cognitive point of view, this cannot be regarded as progressional development."

SHI Jun 石峻 and FANG Litian 方立天, "Lun Sui Tang fojiao zongpai de sixiang tedian 论隋唐佛教宗派的思想特点" (1982). This article provided a subjective view of the position of various Sui and Tang Buddhist schools in Chinese intellectual history. With respect to the Huayan school, the authors analyzed its tendency towards intellectual internalization, claiming that the core of the Huayan concept of "dharma-realm origination" was used to attest the notion of "all things without obstruction" which was a sort of perfect interfusion that admitted differences while exaggerating unity. In the course of the historical development of this philosophy, its tendency towards internalization had been gradually increasing, drawing on the philosophy of not only existing Buddhist schools but also that of the newly formed Chan school. In addition, it also internalized Confucianist and Daoist teachings, manifesting a strong affinity towards unifying the various religious and intellectual schools. Another essay written by SHI Jun and FANG Litian was "Lun Sui Tang fojiao zongpai de xingcheng 论隋唐佛教宗派的形成" (1981) in which they approached the formation of Sui and Tang Buddhist schools by providing a systematic analysis of their socio-historical background, that is, the objective political, economic, and philosophical circumstances of the time.

FANG Litian, "*Huayan Jinshizi zhang pingshu* 华严金狮子章评述" (1983). This essay carefully analyzed the structure and logical organization of Fazang' s *Huayan jinshizi zhang*, the six characteristics and ten mysterious gates as the core of Huayan thought, and Fazang's concept of "classification of teachings." The essay boldly asserted the contribution of the Huayan school to referential logic and epistemology. Other publications of FANG Litian included "Huayanzong fojiao zhexue lilun goujia he fanchou tixi 华严宗佛教哲学理论构架和范畴体系" (1985); "Shixi huayanzong

zhexue fanchou tixi 试析华严宗哲学范畴体系" (1985); "Huayanzong zhexue fanchou tixi jianlun 华严宗哲学范畴体系简论" (1985); "Lüetan huayanxue yu Wutaishan 略谈华严学与五台山" (1988). FANG Litian was the scholar who had published the largest amount of studies on Huayan Buddhism.

YOU Youwei's 游有维 "Huayanzong de qiyuan, chuancheng, yanbian yu fuxing 华严宗的起源、传承、演变与复兴" (1986) provided a systematic description of the formation, dissemination and philosophical framework of the Huayan school.

CHEN Yangjiong 陈扬炯, "Chengguan pingzhuan 澄观评传" (1987). This paper introduced in detail the life and teachings of Chengguan (738–839), the 4th Huayan patriarch, and provided a historical assessment of him: "He succeeded and further developed the teachings of Fazang 法藏 (643–712), establishing a grand and sophisticated philosophical system which represented the climax of Buddhist doctrinal studies and exerted an enormous influence on both Buddhist and secular thought in China."

There were also studies concerning Zongmi 宗密 (780–841), such as LI Fuhua's 李富华 "Zongmi he ta de chanxue 宗密和他的禅学" (1983); and ZHANG Chunbo 张春波 and LI Xi's 李曦 "Zongmi chan jiao yizhi shuo de shizhi 宗密禅教一致说的实质" (1989). The latter study claimed that Zongmi understood the "threat" Chan teachings posed to the government and that his theory of "chan jiao yizhi 禅教一致 (Chan and the teachings are the same)" was a theoretical anticipation of Emperor Wu's persecution of Buddhism.

CHEN Yunji 陈允吉, "Wang Wei yu Huayanzong shi seng Daoguang 王维与华严宗诗僧道光" (1981). This article discusses Wang Wei's relationship with Buddhism, especially the Huayan school.[2]

FANG Litian, "Huayan Jinshizi zhang jiaoshi" (1983). This was the only monograph dedicated to the textual study of a Huayan classic. Through providing an edited interpretation and critical study of Fazang's main opus, the *Huayan jinshizi zhang*, Fang carefully explored the concrete characteristics of the idealist philosophy of the Huayan school.

JIN Shen 金申, "Jinzi *Huayan jing* lüetan 金字华严经略谈" (1987). This was a preliminary study of the *Dafangguang fo Huayan jing lunguan* 大方广佛华严经论贯 written in golden characters in Wanli 万历 period of Ming Dynasty found inside a bronze *stūpa* in the Xiantong 显通 monastery on Wutaishan. Jin believed that it was a summary of the *Huayan jing* written by Fu'an 复庵 as a textbook for reading the *stūpa*, rather than Fu'an's gift to the emperor, as it had sometimes been believed.

GENG Shimin 耿世民, "Huiguwen *Bashi Huayan* canjing yanjiu 回鹘文八十华严残经研究" (1986); "Gansu sheng Bowuguan cang huiguwen *Bashi Huayan* canjing yanjiu 2 甘肃省博物馆藏回鹘文八十华严残经研究 (二)" (1986). In these two papers, Geng provided a transcription and interpretation of the fragmentary Uighur *Bashi Huayan*, offering new material for studying the process of distribution of Huayan classics.

2 Chen 1988, 2002 discussed in detail the influence of Buddhism on ancient Chinese literature.

In addition, there was also WEN Yucheng's 温玉成 "Longmen suojian zhongwai jiaotong shiliao chutan 龙门所见中外交通史料初探" (1983) and "Huayanzong sanzu Kang Fazang shenshi de xin ziliao 华严宗三祖康法藏身世的新资料" (1984).

In comparison with the general studies favored in phase one, phase two was characterized by works dealing with specific aspects of the field, revealing that the research of the Huayan school and Buddhism in general was moving in the direction of deeper and richer content. There were many individual opinions and insights that had been absent from phase one. Below we separate the volume of the scholarly output into nine aspects.

1. Huayan Buddhism in General

This subject includes studies on Huayan theory and history.

In the field of the Huayan theoretical system, the first study that should be mentioned was WEI Daoru's 魏道儒 *Zhongguo huayanzong tongshi* 中国华严宗通史 (1998). This work was still the only comprehensive monograph of Huayan Buddhism done by a mainland scholar. Wei approached the subject from the point of view of a foreign religion transformed and utilized by Chinese feudal society. He explored the process of the evolution going from the *Huayan jing* studies to the Huayan school studies and, finally, to "Huayan studies within the Chan school." The book's time frame ran from the end of Eastern Han to the middle of the Qing. The main characteristics of Wei's research were as follows:

a) He separated the study of *Huayan jing* from the study of the Huayan school, systematically and in detail describing the framework and mutual relationship of these two fields.

b) He systematically described the various divisions and branches of the Huayan school and the relationship between those.

c) He advanced the notion of "Huayan studies within the Chan school," systematically describing the fusion of Chan studies and Huayan studies. The primary force behind the shift from the study of the *Huayan jing* towards the study of the Huayan school was an inherent attitude within traditional Chinese thought which, instead of relying on the written canon, revered individualism and originality.[3]

At this time, FANG Litian was still the most industrious scholar. In "Huayanzong xinxinglun shuping 华严宗心性论述评" (1994) he focused on the Huayan teaching of mind-nature theory which originally was based on and developed from the theory of nature-origination. Fang claimed that the mind-nature theory of the Huayan school consisted of Fazang's theories of bright Buddha seed-nature (*mingfo zhongxing* 明佛种性), Zhiyan 智俨 (602–668) and Fazang's theory of the purity of the original self-nature (*zixing qingjing* 自性清净), Chengguan 澄观 and Zongmi's 宗

3 Li Li'an: 2002; Fu Jianming 1999.

密 theory of mind-nature being equivalent to good knowledge (*xinxing ji liangzhi* 心性即良知), and so on. In "Huayanzong de xianxiang yuanrong lun 华严宗的现象圆融论" (1998), Fang argued that the theory of nonobstruction of phenomena (*shishi wu' ai* 事事无碍) was the most representative teaching in the Huayan school, capable of expressing, in a profound philosophical framework and through rich logical reasoning, man's relationship to the entire universe and, especially, the mutual connection between thing and thing. Although the theory of nonobstruction of phenomena had its roots in Indian Mahāyāna thought, but in terms of structure, substance and meaning it manifested Chinese philosophical traits that were different from Indian Buddhism.

In "Zhongguo fojiao zhijue siwei de lishi yanbian 中国佛教直觉思维的历史演变" (2002), FANG Litian discussed three dharma-realm contemplations (*fajie sanguan* 法界三观), i.e. the contemplation on true emptiness, on nonobstruction between principle and phenomena, on universal wisdom, arguing that those represented the key aspects of Huayan contemplation. These concepts were directly related to the teaching of dharma-realm origination, demonstrating the uniquely intuitive approach of the Huayan school.

YAO Weiqun's 姚卫群 "Huayanzong yu bore zhongguan sixiang 华严宗与般若中观思想" (1996) discussed in great detail the characteristics of the philosophy of contemplation on the *prajñā* manifested in Huayan writings. TANG Yijie's 汤一介 "Huayan 'shixuanmen' de zhexue yiyi 华严'十玄门'的哲学意义" (1995) asserted that many philosophical subjects discussed within Huayan Buddhism were not only significant from the perspective of the history of Chinese philosophy but could also enrich and advance even modern philosophical research. Additional works related to this subject included LOU Yulie's 楼宇烈 "'Bu you jing jiao' yu 'you jiao wu zong' '不由经教'与'由教悟宗'" (2002) and CHEN Peiran's 陈沛然 "*Huayanzong zhi fajieguan yu panjiaoguan yanjiu* 华严宗之法界观与判教 观研究" (1998).[4]

Studies concerned with the history of the development of Huayan thought also included YANG Yi's 杨毅 "Lüe lun dao fo er jiao de xianghu rongshe 略论道佛二教的相互融摄" (1996) analyzed the history of rivalry and mutual influences between Daoist and Buddhist cultures, arguing that the interaction between those had been the main reason behind their prosperity. Although the Huayan school revered the *Huayan jing*, there are important differences between the Huayan philosophy interpreted by Du Shun 杜顺 (557–640), Zhiyan, Fazang and others and this fundamental *sūtra*. The Huayan masters' interpretation of the concept of nonobstruction between principle and phenomena (*lishi wu'ai* 理事无碍) showed the influence of *Zhuangyanjing lun* 庄严经论 (*Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra*) and *Fodijing lun* 佛地经论 (*Buddhabhūmi-sūtra-śāstra*) of Faxiang school, the influence of the *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信论, and the influence of the philosophy of Zhuangzi 庄子. Thus the phi-

4 In an online article called "Huayanzong 'weixin' bianzhengfa sixiang shuping" 华严宗'唯心'辩证法思想述评 WANG Jie 王杰 provided a new evaluation of the dialectic idealism of Huayan Buddhism.

losophy of these masters represented a combination of Chinese and Indian Buddhism merged together under new historical conditions.

In "Dong Jin Nanbeichao huayanxue de fazhan quxiang 东晋南北朝华严学的发展趋向" (1999) WEI Daoru claims that during the Eastern Jin and Southern and Northern Dynasties people, both monks and laymen, were becoming acquainted with and transforming the *Huayan jing*, introduced to China from abroad, in three stages. First, they studied individual *sūtras* belonging to the Huayan group as objects of textual criticism with the aim of elucidating their meaning. In the second stage, people applied the Jin translation of the *Huayan jing* to many practical uses, including religious ceremonies, meditation practice, interpretation of new teachings, and inspiration for faith. In the last stage, a complete translation of the *sūtra* initiated the transition from visually descriptive religious literature to conceptually analytical religious literature. These three stages had successfully created the conditions for the Sinification of Buddhism by determining the direction towards a complete and uniquely Chinese theoretical system of Huayan.

LIU Mengxiang's 刘孟骧 "Huayanzong wenhe xingershangxue foxue lilun de chansheng yu fazhan 华严宗温和形而上学佛学理论的产生与发展" (2000) showed that Du Shun and Zhiyan, the first and second patriarchs, exerted themselves in propagating the teaching of perfect interfusion (*yuanrong* 圆融), leading Buddhism to a new direction of so-called "mild metaphysics" (*wenhe xinger shangxue* 温和形而上学). Fazang, the third patriarch, fully adopted and transformed the theory of consciousness-only (*weishi* 唯识) of Faxiang, criticizing its absolutism, and thus completed the Huayan system of *wenhe xingershangxue*, providing a firm foundation for the further development of the Huayan school.

FENG Huanzhen 冯焕珍 in "Liu shiji huayanxue chuancheng kaobian 六世纪华严学传承考辩" (2001) claimed that Huayan in 6th century was mainly promoted by the masters of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra* (*dilun shi* 地论师). The two other major proponents were the Three Treatises masters (*sanlun shi* 三论师) and a number of treatise masters from unknown lineages. In 6th century Huayan studies there was a long period during which the four regions of Jingzhao 京兆, Luoyang 洛阳 and Ye 邺, Bing 并 and Dai 代, and Jiankang 建康 mutually influenced each other, until this arrangement was finally destroyed by Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou.

2. Main Huayan Figures and their Theories

2.1 Fazang 法藏

QIU Gaoxing 丘高兴 in "Huayan zong zongzu Fazang de shengping ji qi sixiang 华严宗宗祖法藏的生平及其思想" (1992) described in detail the dharma-realm philosophy of Fazang. Xu Shaoqiang 徐绍强 in "Fazang yuanrong zhexue de siwei tese 法藏圆融哲学的思维特色" (1991) and "Fazang de wujin yuanqi shuo 法藏的无尽缘起说" (1996) provided a description and conceptual analysis of Fazang's teach-

ings of identity and difference of three natures (*sanxing tongyi* 三性同异) and six meanings of the cause (*yinmen liuyi* 因门六义), perfect interfusion of the six characteristics (*liuxiang yuanrong* 六相圆融), and ten mysterious gates without obstruction (*shixuan wu'ai* 十玄无碍). In addition, there was also Fang Litian's monograph titled *Fazang* 法藏 (1991) which was a comprehensive description of Fazang's view on Buddhism, his theories of the genesis of the universe, ontology, human ideal and cognition.

2.2 Chengguan 澄观

DONG Ping's 董平 "Lun Chengguan dui huayanzong sixiang de fazhan 论澄观对华严宗思想的发展" (1995) arranged Chengguan's contribution to Huayan Buddhism into four major points: a) He preserved both the integrity and authority of Fazang's teachings, eliminating controversies within the Huayan school; b) adopted the Tiantai teaching of intrinsic inclusiveness of grasping reality and introduced certain theoretical improvements to Fazang's teachings, further enriching and enhancing the Huayan doctrine of nature-origination; c) put forward, in a definite and systematic way, the teaching of "four *dharmadhātu*s," further perfecting the theoretical system of the Huayan school; d) although Chengguan was against non-Buddhist "external schools," favoring the "Western teachings" over "Chinese Confucianism" and opposing the "fusion of the three Ways," at the same time he was also known to quote the Confucianist classics to interpret Buddhist *sūtra*s. Another work dealing with Chengguan was Hu Minzhong's 胡民众 *Chengguan foxue sixiang yanjiu* 澄观佛学思想研究 (2002).

2.3 Zongmi 宗密

ZHOU Qun 周群 in "Zongmi chan jiao heyi sixiang lunxi 宗密禅教合一思想论析" (1991) argued that Zongmi's teaching on the unity of meditational and doctrinal practices was the result of the debate between the various factions of the Tiantai and Huayan schools. The common origin of this concept served as a theoretical foundation for the formation of Zongmi's philosophy. Zongmi used the *Dasheng qixin lun* and *Yuanjue jing* 圆觉经 as the basis for formulating the concept into a teaching of "one mind two schools." Zongmi based his fusion of meditational and doctrinal practices on the notion that "the *sūtra*s represent the Buddha's words, meditation represents the Buddha's intention." The three schools and three teachings of meditation were closely related, with direct correspondences between them. Later on, Zongmi's philosophy had strongly influenced Chinese, Korean and Japanese Buddhism. In the past few years, Shenhui 神会 and Zongmi have become the center of increased scholarly attention but most people failed to recognize the differences between their teachings and thus used the writings of one to interpret those of the other. NIE Qing 聂清 in "Shenhui yu Zongmi 神会与宗密" (2000) proposed a dif-

ferent opinion and claimed that although the teachings of the two masters had certain common features, there were also major differences between them. Nie demonstrated these differences by comparing the two masters' interpretation of *zhi* 知 (knowing) and their view of the relationship between sudden realization (*dunwu* 顿悟) and gradual practice (*jianxiu* 渐修), and *tathāgatagarbha* (*rulai zang* 如来藏) and wisdom (*bore* 般若, *prajñā*). In addition, Nie also attempted to explain the reasons leading to these differences.

Another study on Zongmi was XIANG Shishan's 向世山 "Lun Zongmi de fangfalun moshi 论宗密的方法论模式" (1998).

2.4 Li Tongxuan 李通玄

QIU Gaoxing in "Li Tongxuan yu Fazang de foxue sixiang bijiao 李通玄与法藏的佛学思想比较" (1998) compared the philosophy of Fazang, the founder of the Huayan school, with that of Li Tongxuan (635–730), the heretical figure within the same school, including their views on classification of teachings, Buddha-nature, the practice of contemplating on nature, etc. QIU Gaoxing also published an article titled "Yi *Yi* jie *Huayan jing* – Li Tongxuan dui *Huayan jing* de xin quanshi 以易解华严经 – 李通玄对华严经的新诠释" (2000) in which he argued that using the *Yijing* and other traditional Confucianist concepts to interpret the text of the *Huayan jing*, Li Tongxuan created an entirely new way of understanding of Huayan teachings.

Related to the same subject was QIU Gaoxing's Ph. D. dissertation titled *Li Tongxuan foxue sixiang shuping* 李通玄佛学思想述评 (1996).

2.5 Other

WANG Song 王颂 in "Guanyu Du Shun chuzu shuo de kaocha 关于杜顺初祖说的考察" (2000) disputed the traditional theory that Du Shun was the first Huayan patriarch.

Other studies of the Huayan school included FANG Litian's "Zhencheng dui Sengzhao 'Wu bu qian lun' de piping 镇澄对僧肇物不迁论的批评" (1998), and Liu Chunsheng's 刘春生 "Huiyuan ji *Huayan jing yinyi* de ji dian kaozheng 慧苑及华严经音义的几点考证" (1992).

3. Huayan Influences on Lixue 理学

The influence of Buddhism on the development of *lixue* has been a hot topic in Buddhist studies. Because of the close connection between Huayan and *lixue*, there were many essays and monographs with relevance to Huayan studies too.

CHEN Yuanning's 陈远宁 "Fojiao yu lixue zai bentilun shang de lianxi 佛教与理学在本体论上的联系" (1995) approached the subject from the two distinct per-

spectives of Chinese Buddhist theory and the development of Cheng Yi 程颐 (1033–1108) and Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) *lixue*. The author argued that the structure and cognitive method of the Huayan theory of same principle different manifestation had been adopted by *lixue* advocates, especially Zhou Dunyi 周敦颐 (1017–1073), Cheng Yi, Cheng Hao 程颢 (1032–1085) and Zhu Xi.

CUI Dahua 崔大华 in "Lun lixue zhi xiaohua foxue 论理学之消化佛学" (1997) argued that although the *lixue* theory of the single origin of essence and function had a close conceptual connection with the Chan school, its logic and methodology probably came from the Huayan school.

DONG Ping 董平 in "Xiangshan 'xin ji li' shuo de bentilun quanshi 象山'心即理'说的本体论诠释" (1999) showed that while the concept of "mind is ideal" (*xin ji li*) was the most important element of Lu Xiangshan's 陆象山 (1139–1193) philosophy, it was also the key issue in which it differed from the teachings of Zhu Xi; the interpretation of this concept was fundamental to understanding Xiangshan's philosophy. At the same time, although this concept of equivalence of ontological entity and phenomena, or the concept of perfect interfusion of principle and phenomena, in some sense could be traced back the *Yijing*, their theoretical structure was directly linked with the Huayan school. In some other sense, however, Xiangshan's teaching of *dao zhi yu qi, wei shi xiang wu* 道之于器，未始相无 can actually be regarded as a theoretical outline of the Huayan teaching of perfect interfusion.

Other related works included LI Zuoxun's 李作勋 "Ru fo jiaorong yu Zhu Xi xinxinglun de xingcheng 儒佛交融与朱熹心性论的形成" (1997); FANG Litian's "Ru, fo yi xinxinglun wei zhongxin de hudong hubu 儒、佛以心性论为中心的互动互补" (2000); ZHANG Liwen's 张立文 "Fojiao yu Song Ming lixue de hehe renwen jingshen 佛教与宋明理学的和合人文精神" (1996); KANG Zhongqian's 康中干 "Ru Dao hubu xinlun – Jianlun Zhongguo zhexue de luoji fazhan 儒道互补新论 – 兼论中国哲学的逻辑发展" (1997); and XIANG Shiling's "Jian li jian xing yu qiong li jin xing – Chuantong ruxue, foxue (huayan chan) yu lixue 见理见性与穷理尽性 – 传统儒学、佛学（华严禅）与理学" (2000).

4. The Relationship between Huayan and Chinese Literature and Esthetics

This kind of study was another focus of the last twenty-five years.

ZHANG Wenxun 张文勋 in "Cong *Huayan jinshizi zhang* kan fojiao zhexue de meixue yiyi 从华严金师子章看佛教哲学的美学意义" (1991) analyzed Fazang's *Huayan jinshizi zhang* and provided a detailed description of the complex relationship between Buddhist philosophy and ancient Chinese art, mainly discussing the influences within ancient Chinese art theory, as well as the presence of basic Buddhist concepts (e.g. original substance and phenomenon, real and illusory, presence and absence, part and whole, common and individual, one and many, hidden and exposed, cognition and intuition) in Chinese esthetics.

Although it had been commonly known that there was a strong connection between Buddhism and Tang-Song poetry, not a lot of research had been done in this area. A series of studies published by WU Yansheng 吴言生 in recent years helped to fill this lacuna. His main articles included "Caodongzong chan shi yanjiu 曹洞宗禅诗研究" (1999); "Chan shi shenmei jingjie lun 禅诗审美境界论" (2000a); "Huayan diwang yin chan xin – lun *Huayan jing*, huayanzong dui Chan si Chan shi de yingxiang 华严帝网印禅心 – 论华严经、华严宗对禅思禅诗的影响" (2000b); "Chan shi lishi yuanrong lun 禅诗理事圆融论" (2000c); "Chanzong de shixue huayu tixi 禅宗的诗学话语体系" (2001a). In these studies, the author expressed his opinion that the influence of theory of liberation through meditation of both the *Huayan jing* and the Huayan school on meditation thoughts and meditation poetry (*chan si chan shi* 禅思禅诗) would become extremely important for the study of Chinese Chan poetry in the 21st century.[5]

ZHANG Jiemo 张节末 in "Fayan, 'muqian' he 'ge' yu 'buge' – lun Wang Guowei shixue de yige Chanxue yuanyuan 法眼、'目前'和'隔'与'不隔' – 论王国维诗学的一个禅学渊源" (2000) traced the origins of the Chan concepts of *juyan* 具眼, *muqian* 目前, separation and non-separation in Wang Guowei's *Renjian cihua* 人间词话.

LI Ruiming 李瑞明 in "'Huayan shi jing': Shen Zengzhi shixue '*sanguan*' shuo de yixiang '华严诗境'：沈曾植诗学'三关'说的意向" (2001) discussed the theory of *sanguan* 三关 in Shen Zengzhi's 沈曾植 *Yu Jin Rongjing taishou lun shi shu* 与金蓉镜太守论诗书,[6] claiming that his ingenious new approach to poetry represented a "Huayan approach to poetry" that combined subjective sentiments and artistic intelligence.

PI Chaogang 皮朝纲 in "Huayan jingjie yu Zhongguo meixue 华严境界与中国美学" (2003) demonstrated the enormous influence of the Huayan school on ancient Chinese art theory, esthetics and artistic creativity. Huayan thought had not only influenced these aspects of Chinese art but embodied a rich esthetic content in itself too. It played an important role in the history of Buddhist esthetics in China and thus should be further explored to give its proper assessment.

As a repository of literary writings with a large amount of literary patterns and references, Buddhist *sūtra*s also had a great influence on Chinese literature. One study in this area was HOU Chuanwen's 侯传文 "*Huayan jing* he Zhong Yin qiwu wenxue muti 《华严经》与中印启悟文学母题" (1994) which explores the literary references of *qiwu* (apocalypse).

SUN Changwu 孙昌武 in "Su Shi yu fojiao 苏轼与佛教" (1994) discussed the connection between Su Shi and the Huayan school. Since Su Shi was a man of letters and Chinese men of letters had always been interested in books, he read many *sūtra*s as part of his Buddhist practice. Judging from his writings, he not only loved

5 Wu 2001b.

6 The complete text of Sheng Zengzhi's *Yu Jin Tajing taishou lun shi shu* can be found in Wang Yuanhua 王元化 1995: vol. 3, 116–117.

reading Chan histories of lamp-transmission (*dengshi* 灯史) and recorded sayings (*yulu* 语录), became very familiar with the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*s, *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra, Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* and *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*, but was also heavily influenced by Huayan thought. Originally, Zongmi integrated teachings of both the Huayan and Heze 荷泽 (a branch of the Southern Chan) schools, thus his works incorporated Chan and Huayan ideas at the same time. Huayan assumed a perfectly interfused universe without obstruction, whereas Chan stimulated man's subjective intellect. Both of these two approaches were important elements of Song *lixue*. Su Shi practiced Chan but at the same time he also practiced Huayan, a practice which accurately represented the ideological trend of his time.

Other important studies on the relationship between Huayan and Chinese literature and art included ZHU Liangzhi's 朱良志 "Lun Zhongguo yishulun zhong de *yuan* 论中国艺术论中的'圆'" (1994); XU Zong's 许总 "Lun lixue wenhua guannian yu Songdai shixue 论理学文化观念与宋代诗学" (2000); QI Zhixiang's 祁志祥 "Fojiao 'sanjie weixin' lun yu 'mei shi xinying' shuo 佛教'三界唯心'论与 '美是心影' 说" (1997) and "Zhongguo gudai meixue sixiang xitong zhengtiguan 中国古代美学思想系统整体观" (2003).

5. Huayan Chan

Huayan Chan is an intermediary area between Huayan and Chan. The way *lixue* thinkers interpreted Chan was often rather an understanding of Huayan Chan, merging the philosophy of these two separate schools. It is likely that Huayan teachings served as an agent through which *lixue* proponents encountered and adopted general Buddhist ideology. DONG Qun 董群 in "Lun huayan chan zai foxue he lixue zhijian de zhongjie zuoyong 论华严禅在佛学和理学之间的中介作用" (2000) described the situation of Huayan Chan in Song and Ming times, and the interaction between *lixue* and Huayan Chan. Using Zongmi as an example, the author explored the influence of Huayan Chan on *lixue*, thus providing an important contribution to the research on the relationship between Buddhism and *lixue*.

XIANG Shiling 向世陵 in "Jian li jian xing yu qiong li jin xing – Chuantong ruxue, foxue (huayan chan) yu lixue 见理见性与穷理尽性－传统儒学、佛学（华严禅）与理学" (2000) claimed that Huayan Chan had provided the theoretical foundation needed for the revival of various ideological trends in the form of Neo-Confucianism. *Lixue* was established on the basis of rediscovered pre-Qin Confucianism under the stimulation of Buddhist thought. Having been introduced to China in the Han dynasty, by Sui and Tang times Buddhism has undergone an unparalleled development, especially in the Huayan and Chan schools. However, Huayan Chan was not just a simple amalgamation of Huayan and Chan theories but a synthesis of Zongmi's interpretation of these two, and many other, schools. Precisely for this reason, after the high Tang Huayan Chan became a popular trend amply manifesting the ideological dominance of Buddhism at the time and its privileged position in com-

parison with other schools of thought. Still, the complex assortment of Buddhist schools had no practical meaning for Confucianists who saw Buddhism merely as a heterodox faction with a comprehensive and consistent theoretical system. This was the reason behind the social impact and result of Huayan Chan.

Another work in this area was JIANG Guicun's 蒋桂存 *Huayan chan yu Cheng Zhu lixue de bijiao yanjiu* 华严禅与程朱理学的比较研究 (1999).

6. Comparison of Huayan Buddhism and Other Buddhist Schools

LÜ Jianfu 吕建福 in "Mijiao zhexue de jiben lunti ji qi zhongyao gainian 密教哲学的基本论题及其重要概念" (2002) discussed the influence of Huayan canonical works on the exoteric tradition.

WANG Yueqing 王月清 in "Lun Zhongguo fojiao de renxing shan'e guan – yi tiantaizong wei zhongdian 论中国佛教的人性善恶观 – 以天台宗为重点" (1999) explored the influence of the Tiantai view of the goodness or evilness of human nature on the Fahua school.

PAN Guiming's 潘桂明 "'Xingju shixiang' shuping '性具实相' 述评" (1996) compared the Tiantai concept of nature-inclusiveness with the Huayan concept of nature-origination, claiming that the latter was a step backward from the former.

Other works in this area included XU Kangsheng's 许抗生 "Jianlun tiantaizong he huayanzong de fojiao sixiang 简论天台宗和华严宗的佛教思想" (1993) and FANG Litian's "Cong dilunshi yu shelunshi de xin shi benyuan zhi bian dao tiantai, huayan xinben shuo de chanfa 从地论师与摄论师的心识本原之辨到天台、华严心本说的阐发" (1998).

7. The Huayan School and Politics

HAN Ruichang 韩瑞常 in "Fojiao yu zhongshiji Dongbeiya de zhengzhi biange 佛教与中世纪东北亚的政治变革" (1996) argued that medieval Buddhism entailed a special kind of social consciousness. The author explored the degree and nature of Buddhist influence on the political changes in Northeast Asia, as well as the merits and faults of Buddhism in this process. For example, the Huayan school propagated that all things were in harmony with each other, that many were in one and one was in many; this approach fitted well with the political needs of a monarch ruling a state.

LI Guangliang 李广良 in "Jindai ru fo guanxi shi shulüe 近代儒佛关系史述略" (2000) discussed the impact of Huayan thought on the political philosophy of Kang Youwei 康有为.

Other studies in this area included WEI Daoru's "Zongjiao ronghe yu jiaohua gongneng – yi Songdai liang zhong huayan jingtu xinyang wei li 宗教融合与教化功能 – 以宋代两种华严净土信仰为例" (2000); LI Shuangbi's 李双璧 "Foxue

sixiang zhi yu weixin zhishi: yi Kang, Liang, Tan wei li 佛学思想之于维新志士：以康、梁、谭为例" (1999); HA Yingfei's 哈迎飞 "Lu Xun, Nicai yu fojiao – Lu Xun yu fojiao wenhua guanxi lun zhi yi 鲁迅、尼采与佛教 – 鲁迅与佛教文化关系论之一" (2001); LI Xiangping's 李向平 "Renjian fojiao de xiandai zhuanhuan ji qi yiyi 人间佛教的现代转换及其意义" (1997).

LI Mingyou's 李明友 "Ma Yifu de ru fo huitong guan 马一浮的儒佛会通观" (1995) discussed the Confucianist, Buddhist and Daoist aspects and associations in MA Yifu's scholarship. The perfect interfusion of these three major schools of thought was a basic feature of *lixue*, which was a new form of Confucianism incorporating Buddhist and Daoist elements. Being a great master of contemporary *lixue*, MA Yifu's scholarship inherited these features, while also enriching it with new elements. The analysis of the Confucianist and Buddhist associations in MA Yifu's thought can help us to gain an overall picture of the process of modernization of traditional culture in China.

8. Huayan Buddhism and Ecology

During the course of modernization in China, ecological environment has been more and more important, a trend also reflected in Huayan studies.

WEI Dedong 魏德东 in "Fojiao de shengtai guan 佛教的生态观" (1999) claimed that Buddhism had a rich, and unique, ecological content. Huayan scholars had used a set of sophisticated metaphors like pores (*maokong* 毛孔), minute dust (*weichen* 微尘), lion's fur (*shizi mao* 狮子毛), Indra net (*yintuoluo wang* 因陀罗网), etc. to describe the relationship of "one" to "all," showing their profound understanding of the holistic quality of the world. The *Huayan jing* used the metaphor of Indra net to explain how all things in the world were connected with each other in such an infinite and interactive relationship. Each and every thing included all the essences of the world, just as all things mutually included each other.

LI Yaoxian 李耀仙 in "Fojiao jiaoyi yu huanjing zhexue 佛教教义与环境哲学" (1998) pointed out that the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* (*Niepan jing* 涅盘经) and the teachings of Buddha-nature and Buddha-body of the Fahua school, as well as the *Huayan jing* and dharma-realm origination of the Huayan school all manifested a typically Asian holistic world view which possessed positive connotation for the real-life world too.

9. Other

WANG Hongbin 王鸿宾 in "Tan Jinci Cang Fengyu *Huayan shijing* 谈晋祠藏风峪华严石经" (1997) introduced the background and significance of the Tang stone canon from Fengyu of Shanxi 山西.

YAO Changshou 姚长寿 in "Fangshan shijing huayan dianji kao 房山石经华严典籍考" (1998) utilized the Fangshan stone canon to reexamine the controversial

works of the first and second Huayan patriarchs (i.e. Du Shun's *Xuanfuji* 漩洑偈 and Zhiyan's *Yisheng fajie tu he shi yiyin* 一乘法界图合诗一印).

CAO Shuwen 曹淑文 and HE Yizhuang 何义壮 in "Tan Meiguo Pulinsidun daxue cang mu huozi ben *Dafangguang fo Huayan jing* 谈美国普林斯顿大学藏木活字本《大方广佛华严经》" (1992) introduced the Tangut version of vol. 77 of the *Dafangguang fo Huayan jing* found in July of 1990 in the Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University. The preliminary analysis of the *sūtra* revealed that it was printed in the Yuan dynasty in a wooden moveable type, making it the earliest wooden moveable type work in the world.

CHEN Jingfu 陈景富 in "Wei huayanzong zuting zhengming 为华严宗祖庭正名" (1997) raised doubts regarding the existing view that the Huayan temple located in Xi'an had in fact been the birth place of the Huayan school. The author examined biographical and historical documents to show that the Zhixiang temple 至相寺 in Zhongnanshan 终南山 was a more likely candidate for this status.

Finally, the modern Chinese translation of the *Huayan jing* by ZHANG Xinmin 张新民 et at. was published under the title of *Huayan jing jinyi* 华严经今译 (1994).

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CHOE YEONSHIK

HUAYAN STUDIES IN KOREA

From antiquity to the very present, Huayan (kor. Hwaŏm) thought has played a very important role among Korean Buddhists. Ever since Ŭisang studied under Zhiyan and transmitted Huayan to the Korean peninsular in the latter half of the 7th century A.D., Huayan has been the strand of thought most commonly studied in Korea. Moreover, after the decline of the doctrinal traditions and their merger within the Sŏn school in the 15th century, research on the *Huayan jing* or Huayan thought was considered an undispensible part of education and practice of monks also in Korean Buddhism, and this trend persists within the present Buddhist traditions. Due to these circumstances, Huayan has been receiving relatively high interest in comparison to other fields of Buddhist studies not only among researchers, but also among the general public. However, in comparison to this interest, one may hardly consider extant research sufficient.

Although, just as other fields of study, Korean Buddhology had its (partial) precursors in the first half of the 20th c., it yet seems to be related to what actually only was to begin in the 1960s, when the colonial rule and the Korean War had just been overcome. Of course, during these more than 50 years quite a few studies appeared, but against the backdrop of a more or less absent academic basis it was difficult to accomplish research on a higher level. Initial research concentrated on elaborating on very basic contents, or introducing works of the foreign academia, and only after the end of the 80s a situation had arisen in which one had overcome the beginners' level, and studies which tried to formulate own views began to appear.

The research on Huayan thought also did not deviate significantly from this general trend of research in the study of Buddhism. Although from the 1960s onwards quite a number of research articles did appear, in comparison to the achievements of the foreign academia both in terms of quantity and quality again one may hardly take to the view that a satisfactory standard was achieved. Fortunately, after the end of the 80s diversified research on a wide range of topics related to Huayan thought came to be advanced, and the number of researchers interested in the study of Huayan increased. On the basis of this research, I do expect that in the near future more advanced studies will be presented.

In a way, academic research on Huayan thought since the 1960s did not just perpetuate the current of traditional Huayan learning carried out in temples, and rather build upon research results which had been achieved in the Buddhological academia abroad from the 1920s onwards, and in particular continued currents of Japanese research. I. e., different from traditional research on Huayan, which has regarded the understanding of the original text of the *Huayan jing* important and thus has made the study of the commentarial works on the *Huayan jing* – mainly those authored by Chengguan – its main object, in modern research on Huayan thought rather centers on the theory contained in the teachings of Huayan patriachs such as Zhiyan, Fazang and Chengguan.

As a result, one may have the impression that research on Huayan teachings done in the temples since the latter half of the 20th century and studies on Huayan thought done mainly in the universities have been carried out in separation. Nevertheless, although only partially, there have been attempts to carry out both in parallel, and in particular with researchers from the monks' ranks emerging, a tendency to put more importance on the understanding of the *sūtra* itself is showing strongly.

The academic study of Huayan thought, which is the topic of this paper, by large may be divided into research on Huayan teachings and research on Korean Hwaŏm thought: the former consisting of studies investigating the special thought characteristics of the Huayanjing and the theoretical system of the Chinese Huayan lineage; the latter of studies on the contents of thought of Korean Hwaŏm thinkers and the developments of the Hwaŏm lineages and institutions. In the beginning, research on Korean Hwaŏm flourished, but from the 1990s onwards research on the Huayan teachings also has been carried out actively.

As contemporary research on Korean Buddhism is not confined to Buddhology, but has become a field within classical and Korean studies, in research on Korean Hwaŏm thought not only understanding the contents of the canon of Korean Hwaŏm learning, but research on the characteristic features of Korean Hwaŏm thought setting it apart from Chinese Huayan thought, or the social role of Hwaŏm thought and Hwaŏm institutions in Korean society has become important.

1. Research on Huayan teachings

As a work belonging to the earliest period of research on Huayan teachings, one may name KIM Ying-seuk's [Kim Ingsŏk] 金仍石 *Hwaŏmhak kaeron* 華嚴學概論 [An outline of Huayan learning, 1960]. Not only comprehensively covering the special thought characteristics of the *Huayan jing* and the teaching system of Chinese Huayan thought, but also – in a comparatively detailed way – the development of Korean Hwaŏm thought from the latter half of the 7th through to the 19th century, this monograph provides a comprehensive introduction to Huayan/Hwaŏm thought. Although it is a study of the initial phase, it displayed an understanding of Huayan

thought on a quite high level, and set the basic direction for the research carried out afterwards. The author had studied Buddhology at a Japanese university during the latter half of the 1920s, and as if it reflects this circumstance, in his elucidations on the teaching system of the Huayan lineage quite a few of the research results achieved by the early 20th century Japanese academia are contained.

Nevertheless, until the 1980s research on the Huayan teachings was not that active. Researchers majoring in Huayan teachings were extremely few, and the subjets of their studies could not be that broadly oriented. A representative researcher in Huayan teachings of the 1960s and 1970s, CHANG Won-kyu [Chang Wŏn'gyu] published articles such as "Posal sibji sŏl-ŭi chŏn'gae-e taehan koch'al" 菩薩十地說의 展開에 대한 考察 [An inquiry into the development of expositions on the ten Bodhisattva stages, 1964], "Hwaŏmgyŏng-ŭi sasang ch'egye-wa kŭ chŏn'gae: Indo py'ŏn" 華嚴經의 思想體系와 그 展開: 印度篇 [The thought system of the *Huayan jing* and its development: India, 1970], "Hwaŏm kyohak wŏnsŏnggi-ŭi sasang yŏn'gu: Pangŭi-ŭi samsa-rŭl chungsim-ŭro" 華嚴敎學 完成期의 思想 硏究: 傍依의 三師를 중심으로 [On the thought of the period of completion of the Hwaŏm teachings: focusing on three masters also to be relied on, 1974], "Hwaŏmhak-ŭi taesŏngja Pŏbjang-ŭi kyohak sasang" 華嚴學의 大成者 法藏의 敎學思想 [The doctrinal thought of Fazang, the systematizer of the Hwaŏm teachings, 1976-77], "Hwaŏm-jong susŏnggi-ŭi kyohak sajo" 華嚴宗 守成期의 敎學思潮 [The thought currents of the conservative period of the Huayan lineage, 1978], "Kyubong-ŭi kyohak sasang-gwa i su sa ka-ŭi Hwaŏm-jong chaehŭng" 圭峰의 敎學思想과 二水四家의 華嚴宗再興 [Guifeng's doctrinal thought and the renewed flourishing of the Huayan lineage under the 'four houses and the two waters', 1979] and thus helped to broaden the understanding of the contents of the Huayanjing and especially of the doctrinal particularities among the Chinese Huayan thinkers.

Besides, there were authors such as SIN Dong-sik [Sin Tongsik] 申洞湜, who clarified Fazang's positon towards Tathāgatagarbha and Vijñaptimātratā thought in articles such as "Hwaŏmhag-e issŏ yŏraejang sasang-ŭl mae'ge han konggwan-ŭi ch'ŏri – Pŏbjang-ŭi Hwaŏmhak-ŭl chungsim-ŭro" 화엄학에 있어 如來藏思想을 媒介한 空觀의 처리 – 法藏의 華嚴學을 중심으로 [A treatment of emptiness contemplation as an intermediary of Tathāgatagarbha thought in Huayan learning: focusing on Pŏbjang's [view on the] Hwaŏmgyŏng, 1972] and "Hwaŏmhag-e issŏ yusik-ŭi ch'ŏri munje – Pŏbjang-ŭi samsŏngsŏl-ŭl chungsim-ŭro" 華嚴學에 있어 唯識의 處理 問題 – 法藏의 三性說을 中心으로 [Problems in the treatment of Vijñaptimātratā in Hwaŏm learning, 1973], or KIM Ha-woo [Kim Hau] 金夏雨, who – originally being a scholar of Sanlun – compared the thought system of the Huayan thinkers with Sanlun thought in studies such as "Samnon-gwa Hwaŏmgye (Wŏnhyo, Pŏbjang kye)-ŭi chŏn'o pangsik" 三論과 華嚴系(元曉·法藏系)의 轉悟 方式 [Methods leading towards awakening in the Sanlun and Huayan/Hwaŏm (Wŏnhyo, Fazang) lineages,1982], "Pŏbjang-ŭi pulsang chi pangsik" 法藏의 不相 知方式 [Fazang's method of knowledge denying characteristics, 1985], "Pŏbjang-ŭi muŭi pangsik" 法藏의 無依方式 [Fazang's method of not having something to depend

on, 1985], or Chinggwan-ŭi chŏn'o pangsik 澄觀의 轉悟方式 [Chengguan's method of leading towards awakening, 1987].

The until then only insufficiently developed research on doctrinal teachings of Huayan really gained momentum when from the end of 1980s onwards, one after the other, numerous studies began to appear. Understanding nature-origination (*xingqi* 性起) as the core of Huayan thought, JEONG Soon-il [Chŏng Sunil] 鄭舜日 investigated the contents of nature-origination thought and its development process within the Huayan teachings in his "Hwaŏm sŏnggi sasangsa yŏn'gu – Chungguk Hwaŏm-jong-ŭl chungsim-ŭro" 華嚴性起思想史研究-中國華嚴宗을 中心으로 [A study on the history of thought on nature-origination in Huayan – focusing on the Chinese Huayan lineage, 1989]. Soon afterwards, KWON Tan-joon's [Kwŏn T'anjun] 權坦俊 "*Hwaŏmgyŏng*-ŭi Yŏrae ch'ulhyŏn sasang y'on'gu" 華嚴經의 如來出現思想研究 [A study on the thought [related to] the appearance of the Tathāgata in the *Huayan jing*] and LEE Hyo-kul's [Yi Hyogŏl] 李孝杰 "*Hwaŏmgyŏng*-ŭi sŏngnip pae'gyŏng-gwa kujo ch'egye" 華嚴經의 成立背景과 構造體系 [The background of the formation of the *Huayan jing* and its structural system, 1991] were published, emphasizing that the thought of the *Huayan jing* and the teachings of the Chinese Huayan lineage should be distinguished. Different from previous studies, which focused on the thought system of the Chinese Huayan teachings, these two Ph.D. theses centered on the elucidation of the formation process of the *Huayan jing* itself and the special characteristics of its thought. This interest in the contents of the *Huayan jing* itself showed in full-scale with monk researchers. Bon-gak [Pon'gak] 本覺 (JIN Young-you [Chin Yŏngyu] 陳永裕), being very much interested in the practice of the contemplation method showing in the Huayanjing, published articles such as "Hwaŏm kwanpŏb-e issŏsŏ konggwan-ŭi ŭiŭi" 華嚴觀法에 있어서 空觀의 意義 [The significance of the emptiness contemplation in the contemplation on the *dharma*s in Huayan, 1994], "Hwaŏm kyŏngryu-ŭi kyehak-e kwanhan yŏn'gu" 華嚴經類의 戒學에 관한 연구 [A study on the Vinaya learning of the *Hwaŏm* class of *sūtra*s, 1998], "Hwaŏm kyohak-ŭi pŏpkye ŭi-ŭi koch'al" 華嚴教學의 法界義의 고찰 [An investigation of the meaning of *dharmadhātu* in the Huayan teachings, 1998], "Hwaŏm sibjung yusikkwan" 華嚴十重唯識觀 [The contemplation of Mind-Only on ten levels in Huayan, 2000], etc, while Do-eop [Toŏp] 道業 (LEE Haing-koo [Yi Haenggu] 李杏九] published articles such as "*Hwaŏmgyŏng*-e nat'anan chŏngt'o sasang" 華嚴經에 나타난 淨土思想 [The Pure Land thought showing in the *Huayan jing*, 1989], "*Hwaŏmgyŏng*-e nat'anan Pŏpsin Pul sasang" 華嚴經에 나타난 法身佛思想 [The thought on the *Dharmakāya* Buddha showing in the *Huayan jing*, 1993], "*Hwaŏmgyŏng*-e nat'anan posal sasang" 華嚴經에 나타난 菩薩思想 [The Bodhisattva thought showing in the *Huayan jing*, 1994-5], "*Hwaŏmgyŏng*-e nat'anan yusik sasang" 華嚴經에 나타난 唯心思想 [The thought on Mind-only showing in the *Huayan jing*, 1996], "*Hwaŏmgyŏng*-e nat'anan yŏn'gi sasang" 華嚴經에 나타난 緣起思想 [The thought on conditional arising showing in the *Huayan jing* 1997년], and "Hwaŏm kyohak-ŭi ilsim sasang" 華嚴教學의 一心思想 [The thought on one-mind within the Huayan teachings, 2001].

Research on the thought of the patriarchs of Chinese Hwaŏm likewise came to be actively pursued, and also in this field the role of monk researchers was prominent:

Kye-hwan [Kyehwan] 戒環 (CHANG Ae-soon [Chang Aesun] 張愛順) investigated Fazang's writings in synthesis and published articles such as "Pŏpjang-ŭi Ilsŭng sasang" 法藏의 一乘思想 [Fazang's one-vehicle thought, 1990], "Pŏbjang-ŭi kyo sangjŭk kwanbŏb-e taehayŏ" 法藏의敎 相卽觀法에 대하여 [On the contemplation method of mutual identity in Fazang's teachings, 1993], "Pŏbjang kyohag-ŭi simsŏngnon yŏn'gu" 法藏敎學의 心性論 硏究 [A study on the theory of the nature of mind in Fazang's teachings, 1995], "Pŏbjang-ŭi Hwaŏm konggwan-e taehan so'go" 法藏의 華嚴空觀에 대한 小考 [An investigation of Fazang's Hwaŏm emptiness contemplation, 1997], "Pŏbjang kyohak-kwa *Kisillon*" 法藏敎學과 起信論 [Fazang's teachings and the *Qixin lun*, 1999], "Pŏpjang-ŭi 'Taesŭng kisillon ŭigi' ch'ansul-e taehan koch'al" 法藏의 『大乘起信論義記』찬술에 대한 고찰 [An investigation of the creation of Fazang's *Dasheng qixin lun yiji*, 2000], etc.

Hye-nam [Hye'nam] 慧南 (ROH Jae-seong [No Chaesŏng] 盧在性) published as basic studies on Chengguan's 澄觀 biography and thought "Chinggwan-ŭi Yudo pip'an" 澄觀의 儒道 批判 [Chengguan's criticism against Confucianism and Daoism, 1996], "Ch'ŏngnyang Chinggwan-ŭi chŏn'gi-e taehan chae'go" 淸涼澄觀의 傳記에 대한 再考 [A reconsideration of Qingliang Chengguan's biography, 1998], "Chinggwan-ŭi Odaesan ip san-gwa *Hwaŏmgyŏng Hwaŏmgyŏng so ch'o*-ŭi chŏjak" 澄觀의 五臺山 入山과 『華嚴經疏鈔』의 著作 [Chengguan's retreat to Mt. Wutai and the creation of his commentaries on the *Hwaŏmgyŏng*, 1998년], "Chinggwang-ŭi Odaesan sinang" 澄觀의 五臺山 信仰 [Chengguan's beliefs concerning Mt. Wutai, 1999], etc. Also, Jung-om [Chŏngŏm] 淨嚴 (SŎ Hae-gi [Sŏ Hae'gi] 徐海基) published "Chinggwan-ŭi Sŏn-jong kwan" 澄觀의 禪宗觀〉 [Chengguan's view on the Chan lineages, 2001] and "Chinggwan-ŭi Haeinsammae kwan-e taehayŏ" 澄觀의 海印三昧觀에 대하여 [On Chengguan's view on the ocean-seal *samādhi*, 2001].

Concerning Zongmi, more than his Hwaŏm thought as such, his thoughts directed at the fusion of Chan and doctrinal Buddhism, or the fusion of the Three teachings received attention: SHIN Gyoo-tag [Sin Kyut'ak] 辛奎卓 published "In'gannon-e taehan Chongmi-ŭi ihae – *Wŏninnon*-ŭl chungsim-ŭro" 人間論에 대한 宗密의 理解 –『原人論』을 중심으로 [Zongmi's understanding of the human being – focusing on the *Yuanren lun*, 1994], "Sŏn-jong-ŭi simsŏng non – Kyubong Chongmi-ŭi ipchang-ŭl pip'anhanda" 禪宗의 心性論 – 圭峰宗密의 입장을 비판한다 [Discourse on the nature of mind in the Chan school – criticising Guifeng Zongmi's standpoint, 1996], "Pulgyo-ŭi Chunggukhwa – Kyubong Chongmil-ŭi cha-a ihae-rŭl chungsim-ŭro" 佛敎의 中國化 – 圭峰宗密의 自我理解를 중심으로 [The sinification of Buddhism – focusing on Guifeng Zongmi's understanding of the ego, 1997], "Chongmil-ŭi suhaeng iron – ton-chŏm kwan-ŭl chungsim-ŭro" 宗密의 修行理論 – 頓漸觀을 중심으로 [Zongmi's theory of practice – focusing on his view on the sudden and the gradual, 2000년], etc. CHO Yoon-ho [Cho Yunho] 曺潤鎬 published the articles "Chongmil tono-chŏmsu sŏng-pul non ch'egye-ŭi hyŏngsŏng-gwa ŭiŭi" 宗密 頓悟漸修 成佛論 체계의 형성과 의의 [The Formation and meaning of the

system of Zongmi's theory of realizing Buddhahood by sudden awakening and gradual cultivation, 1998], and "Chongmi-ŭl t'onghaesŏ pon Chungguk chŏnt'ong sasang-gwa Pulgyo-ŭi mannam" 宗密을 통해서 본 중국 전통사상과 불교의 만남 [The encounter of traditional Chinese thought and Buddhism as seen through Zongmi, 1999].

Likewise, with the increase of research on Huayan thought in the latter half of the 1990s, introductory monographs on Huayan thought following the lead of KIM Ying-seuk's [Kim Ingsŏk] 金芿石 *Hwaŏmhak kyeron* 華嚴學概論 made their appearance. Thus, Kye-hwan [Kyehwan] 戒環 (CHANG Ae-soon [Chang Aesun] 張愛順) authored *Chungguk Hwaŏm sasangsa yŏn'gu* 中國華嚴思想史研究 [Studies in the history of thought of Chinese Huayan, 1996], in which he reviewed the development process of Chinese Hwaŏm, and Hae-joo [Haeju] 海住 (JEON Ho-ryun [Chŏn Horyŏn] 全好蓮) published *Hwaŏm-ŭi segye* 화엄의 세계 (1998), which, easily understandable by the general audience, introduces in outline the contents of the *Huayan jing* and covers the development process of Huayan/Hwaŏm thought in China and Korea.

2. Research on Korean Huayan thought

Research on Korean Hwaŏm thought also began in the 1960s: Thus, one may consider the "Han'guk-ŭi Hwaŏmgyo sa" 韓國의 華嚴敎史 [A History of Hwaŏm learning in Korea) contained in KIM Ying-seuk's [Kim Ingsŏk] *Hwaŏmhak kaeron*, as the groundlaying study, in as much as it extensively deals with the relevant materials and provides a systematic treatment of the development process of Korean Hwaŏm thought. In addition, KIM Ying-seuk also published "Pojo Kuksa-ŭi Hwaŏmgwan" 普照國師의 華嚴觀 [The national preceptor Pojo's view on Hwaŏm, 1959–1960], in which he clarified the representative 13th c. Sŏn monk Chinul's Hwaŏm thought.

More thorough research on Korean Hwaŏm thought, however, began from the 1970s onwards with studies on Ŭisang's and Wŏnhyo's Hwaŏm thought: KIM Jigyeon [Kim Chigyŏn] 金知見 published "Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkyedo yŏn'gu ch'o" 華嚴一乘法界圖研究抄 [Some research on the *Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkyedo*, 1971], "Silla Hwaŏmhak-ŭi kyebo-wa sasang" 新羅華嚴學의 系譜와 思想 [The lineages and thought of Huayan learning in Silla, 1973], "Han'guk Hwaŏmhak-ŭi churyu ko" 韓國華嚴學의 主流考 [An investigation of the main currents of Korean Hwaŏm learning, 1975] and other articles, showing that Ŭisang's Hwaŏm thought differed from Wŏnhyo's and that Korean Hwaŏm thought of later periods followed Ŭisang's thought. In the already mentioned article "Hwaŏm kyohak wŏnsŏnggi-ŭi sasang yŏn'gu: Pangŭi-ŭi samsa-rŭl chungsim-ŭro" 華嚴敎學 完成期의 思想 硏究: 傍依의 三師를 중심으로 by CHANG Won-kyu [Chang Wŏngyu] 張元圭, the theoretical systems of Ŭisang's and Wŏnhyo's Hwaŏm thought became clarified together with that of Li Tongxuan. Furthermore, RHI Ki-young [Yi Kiyong] 李箕永, who had con-

centrated on Wŏnhyo's thought since the 1960s, made mention of Wŏnhyo's Hwaŏm thought in his "Kyop'an sasang-eso pon Wŏnhyo-ŭi wich'i" [Wŏnhyo's position as viewed from his thought on the classification of teachings, 1974].

From the latter half of the 1970s, research on Korean Hwaŏm thought became more diversified, expanding in a way that it no longer only took Wŏnhyo and Ŭisang, but also their followers up to the Hwaŏm thinkers of the Koryŏ dynasty as its objects. Also, research methodology deepened through an understanding of the political and social circumstances under which such thoughts took shape, going beyond investigations of thought contents as such.

First, in research on Hwaŏm thought during the Silla period, deepened studies on Ŭisang's and Wŏnhyo's Hwaŏm thought appeared. On the basis of previous studies, Ŭisang's Hwaŏm thought was more systematically clarified in CHŎNG Pyŏngjo's 鄭柄朝 "Ŭisang Hwaŏmgyo-ŭi che munje" 義湘 華嚴敎學의 諸問題 [Various issues in Ŭisang's Hwaŏm teachings, 1976] and Inhwan's 印幻 (CHAE T'aeksu 蔡澤洙) "Ŭisang Hwaŏmhak-ŭi t'ŭksŏng" 義湘華嚴敎學의 特性 [The special character of Ŭisang's Hwaŏm teachings, 1982], and in the already mentioned "Samnon-gwa Hwaŏmgye (Wŏnhyo, Pŏbjang kye)-ŭi chŏn'o pangsik" 三論과 華嚴系(元曉·法藏系)의 轉悟方式 [Methods leading towards awakening in the Sanlun and Huayan/Hwaŏm (Wŏnhyo, Fazang) lineages,1982] by KIM Ha-woo [Kim Hau] 金夏雨, Chinese Sanlun thought and Wŏnhyo's thought were reviewed from a comparative perspective.

KOH Ik-jin [Ko Ikchin] 高翊晉, the researcher who in the 1980s reviewed Wŏnhyo's Hwaŏm thought most comprehensively, in his "Wŏnhyo-ŭi Hwaŏm sasang" 元曉의 華嚴思想 [Wŏnhyo's Hwaŏm thought, 1982] made a detailed investigation from the viewpoint that the special characteristic of Wŏnhyo's Hwaŏm thought is a synthesis with the thought of the *Dasheng qixin lun*, and in his "Silla chungdae Hwaŏm sasang-ŭi chŏn'gae-wa kŭ yŏnghyang" 新羅中代華嚴思想의 展開와 그 影響 [The development of Hwaŏm thought in the middle period of Silla and its effects, 1987–1988] compared the contents of Wŏnhyo's and Ŭisang's Hwaŏm thought with the thought system of the Huayan masters of China, showed their special characteristics and reviewed how these were continued in the later thought tradition of Silla.

One after the other, Ph.D. theses on Ŭisang's and Wŏnhyo's Hwaŏm thought were brought forward. Concerning Ŭisang's thought, there were Hae-joo's [Haeju] 海住 [JEON Ho-ryun [Chŏn Horyŏn] 全好蓮) "Silla Ŭisang-ŭi Hwaŏmhak yŏn'gu: Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo-ŭi sŏnggi sasang-ŭl chungsim-ŭro" 新羅 義湘의 華嚴敎學 硏究: 一乘法界圖의 性起思想을 中心으로 [A study on the Hwaŏm thought of Ŭisang from Silla: focusing on the nature-origination thought of the *Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo*, 1989], who understood the concept of nature-origination as Ŭisang's special characteristic and analyzed the formative process of this thought and its influence on later Korean Hwaŏm thought, and JUNG Byung-sam's [Chŏng Pyŏngsam] 鄭炳三 "Ŭisang Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu: kŭ sasangsa-jŏk ŭiŭi-wa sahoe-jŏk sŏnggyŏk" 義相 華嚴思想 硏究: 그 思想史的 意義와 社會的 性格 [A study on Ŭisang's Hwaŏm thought: Its significance in the history of thought and its social character, 1991]. Concerning Wŏn-

hyo's Hwaŏm thought there were "Wŏnhyo-ŭi Taejung kyohwa-wa sasang ch'egye" 元曉의 大衆教化와 思想體系 [Wŏnhyo's prosyletizing among the masses and his system of thought, 1995] by NAM Dong-shin [Nam Tongsin] 南東信, who wanted to clarify that Hwaŏm thought and prosyletizing among the masses were related, and "Wŏnhyo-ŭi pobŏp Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu" 元曉의 普法華嚴思想 研究 [A study on Wŏnhyo's Universal Dharma – Hwaŏm thought, 2003] by Seok Gil-am [Sŏk Kiram] 石吉岩, who wanted to point out the Universal Dharma as the special characteristic of Wŏnhyo's Hwaŏm thought.

In the course of this progress in research on Wŏnhyo's and Ŭisang's Hwaŏm thoughts, also in historical studies interest in the Hwaŏm thought of the Silla period became manifest: KIM Sang-hyun [Kim Sanghyŏn] 金相鉉 brought the currents of the Hwaŏm factions during Silla dynasty systematically into an orderly perspective through studies such as "Silla Hwaŏmhak sŭng-ŭi kyebo-wa kŭ hwaldong" 新羅華嚴學僧의 系譜와 그 活動 [The genealogy of the monks of Hwaŏm lineage in Silla and their activities, 1984] and *Silla Hwaŏm sasangsa y'on'gu* 新羅華嚴思想史研究 [Studies in the history of Silla Hwaŏm thought, 1991]. Also, KIM Bok-soon [Kim Poksun] 金福順 dealt with arranging the materials on the Hwaŏm lineage of the Silla period, which stretched from the 7th to the 10th century, in his "Silla chungdae Hwaŏm-jong-gwa wanggwŏn" 新羅中代 華嚴宗과 王權 [The Hwaŏm lineage of the middle period of Silla and royal power, 1988] and his monograph *Silla Hwaŏm-jong yŏn'gu* 新羅華嚴宗研究 [Studies in the Hwaŏm lineage of Silla, 1990], etc. Among one part of the academia in historical studies, especially the tendency to explain Hwaŏm thought as deeply connected with political fo to t pursuing centralized power was strong. However, KIM Sang-hyun [Kim Sanghyŏn] in his "Silla chungdae chŏnche wanggwŏn-gwa Hwaŏm-jong" 新羅中代 專制王權과 華嚴宗 [Autocratic royal power in the middle period of Silla and the Hwaŏm-jong, 1984] pointed out that such explainations arose from one-sided prejudices concerning the historic realities of those times and misunderstandings concerning Hwaŏm thought itself.

As for research on the Hwaŏm thought of Silla period beyond Wŏnhyo and Ŭisang, there is KIM In-duk's [Kim Indŏk] 金仁德 "P'yowŏn-ŭi Hwaŏmhak" 表員의 華嚴學 [P'yowŏn's Hwaŏm learning, 1982] and HWANG Kyu-chan's [Hwang Kyuch'an] 黃圭燦 *Silla Py'owŏn-ŭi Hwaŏmhak* 新羅 表員의 華嚴學 [The Hwaŏm learning of P'yowŏn from Silla, 1998], which analyze the Hwaŏm thought of P'yowŏn, who flourished around the middle of the 8th c. The mutual intellectual influence of Hwaŏm thought and the Sŏn lineages after their introduction in the 9th c. are analyzed in Hae-joo's [Haeju] 海住 "Han'guk Hwaŏm Sŏn-ŭi hyŏngsŏng-gwa chŏn'gae (1)" 韓國華嚴禪의 形成과 展開 (1) [The formation and development of Korean Hwaŏm Sŏn (1), 1995] and In-kyung's [Ingyŏng] 印鏡 (KIM Hyoung-rok [Kim Hyŏngnok] 金炯錄) "Na-mal Ryo-ch'o Hwaŏmgyodan-gwa Sŏnjong-ŭi che munje" 羅末麗初 華嚴敎團과 禪宗의 諸問題 [Various issues related to the institutions of the Hwaŏm teaching and the Sŏn lineages, 2001]. On the other hand, CHOE Yeonshik [Ch'oe Yŏnsik] 崔鉛植 analyzed the tendency of 9th to 10th century Hua-

yan thought, which hitherto had not received attention, in his articles "Kyŏndung-ŭi chŏsul-gwa sasang" 見登의 著述과 思想 [The works and thought of Kyŏndŭng, 2001] and "'Kŏnna p'yoha ilsŭng suhaengja pimil ŭigi'-wa Na-mal Ryo-ch'o Hwaŏm-hak-ŭi ildonghyang" 《健拏標訶一乘修行者秘密義記》와 羅末麗初 華嚴學의 一動向 [The *Kŏnna p'yoha ilsŭng suhaengja pimil ŭigi* and one tendency of Hwaŏm learning at the end of Silla and the beginning of Koryŏ, 2004].

Concerning the Hwaŏm thought of the Koryŏ dynasty, research has been done on the thoughts of Kyunyŏ and Chinul, who were active during the 10th and 13th c., respectively. First, on Kyunyŏ's Hwaŏm thought there were KIM Dujin's [Kim Tujin] 金杜珍 *Kyunyŏ Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu: Sŏng-sang yunghoe sasang* 均如華嚴思想研究: 性相融會思想 [A study on Kyunyŏ's Hwaŏm thought: The melting together and unifying of nature and characteristics, 1983], CHOE Yeonsik's "Kyunyŏ Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu: Kyop'an non-ŭl chungsim-ŭro" 均如 華嚴思想研究: 敎判論을 중심으로 [A study on Kyunyŏ's Hwaŏm thought: focusing on his theory on the classification of teachings, 1999], and KIM Chon-hak's [Kim Ch'ŏnhak] 金天鶴 "Kyunyŏ-ŭi Hwaŏm ilsŭng ŭi yŏn'gu: Kŭn'gi non-ŭl chungsim-ŭro" 均如의 華嚴一乘義研究: 根機論을 中心으로 [A study on Kyunyŏ's meaning of the one-vehicle of Hwaŏm: focusing on the theory of "root and mechanism", 1999], etc. KIM Dujin interpreted Kyuny'o's Hwaŏm thought as politically significant, i.e. deeply connected with the 10th c. Koryŏ government's policy of centralization of power. By contrast, CHOE Yeonsik and KIM Chon-hak denied such an understanding and put emphasis on clarifying the independent characteristics showing in Kyuny'ŏ's Hwaŏm thought. According to their research Kyunyŏ united the thought of Ŭisang and Pŏbjang and established an independent thought system, not seldom giving terms and concepts of the existing Hwaŏm thought original explanations. In CHOE Yeonsik's research it is said that Kyunyŏ puts emphasis on making known the absolute superiority of Hwaŏm thought, while Kim Chon-hak says that Kyunyŏ dedicates his interest on leading all people to awakening.

Although Chinul was a Sŏn monk, he held Huayan thought, and in particular Li Tongxuan's Hwaŏm thought in high esteem. Continuing KIM Ying-seuk's [Kim Ing-sŏk] pioneering research, YI Chongik's 李鍾益 "Chinul-ŭi Hwaŏm sasang" 知訥의 華嚴思想 [Chinul's Hwaŏm thought, 1975] and "Pojo Sŏn-gwa Hwaŏm" 普照禪과 華嚴 [Pojo's Sŏn and Hwaŏm, 1982], as well as KIM Ji-gyeon's [Kim Chi'gyŏn] 金知見 "Chinul-eso-ŭi Sŏn-gwa Hwaŏm-ŭi sangŭi" 知訥에서의 禪과 華嚴의 相依 [The mutual dependence of Sŏn and Hwaŏm in Chinul's [works], 1989], and SIM Jae-ryong's [Sim Chaeryong] 沈在龍 "Chinul-ŭi Hwaŏm sasang" 知訥의 華嚴思想 [Chinul's Hwaŏm thought, 1991] came to be published. While all these studies pointed out the influence, which Li Tongxuan's Huayan thought exerted on Chinul's thought, Kim Ji-gyeon emphasized that Chinul continued Ŭisang's thought and considered nature-origination as important.

Meanwhile, research on Hwaŏm thought of the Koryŏ period within the academia of historical studies mainly put attention on the tendency of the institution of the Hwaŏm lineage.

CHOI Byung-hun [Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn] 崔柄憲 made clear through studies such as "Koryŏ sidae Hwaŏmhak-ŭi pyŏnch'ŏn: Kyunyŏ-p'a-wa Ŭich'ŏn-p'a-ŭi taerip-ŭl chungsim-ŭro" 高麗時代 華嚴學의 變遷 : 均如派와 義天派의 對立을 中心으로 [The change of Hwaŏm learning during the Koryŏ period: focusing on a juxtaposition of Kyunyŏ's and Ŭich'ŏn's factions, 1980], "Koryŏ sidae Hwaŏm chongdan-ŭi chŏn'gae kwajŏng-gwa kŭ yŏksa-jŏk sŏnggyŏk" 高麗時代 華嚴宗團의 展開過程과 그 歷史的 性格 [The development of the Hwaŏm lineage during the Koryŏ period and its historical character, 1990], "Ŭich'ŏn-i Kyunyŏ-rŭl pip'an han iyu: Chin'gak Kuksa munjip kwŏn 16 si sinsu hakto chi cho-ŭi punsŏk" 義天이 均如를 비판한 이유–: 眞覺國師文集 卷16 示 新參學徒緇 條의 分析 [The reason why Ŭich'ŏn criticised Kyunyŏ: An explanation of the entry on the newly involved adherents in *kwŏn* 16 of the *Chin'gak Kuksa munjip*, 1991], etc. that at the beginning of the Koryŏ period those continuing Kyunyŏ's thought were the main current within the Hwaŏm lineage, whereas in the latter part of the 11th c. the followers of Ŭich'ŏn, who emphasised the thought of Chengguan took over the lead.

On the other side, HEO Heung-sik [Hŏ Hŭngsik] 許興植 in his "Koryŏ chunggi Hwaŏm chongp'a-ŭi kyesung: Wŏn'gyŏng Wangsa-rŭl chingsim-ŭro" 高麗中期 華嚴宗派의 繼承 : 元景王師를 중심으로 [The succession within the Hwaŏm lineage during the middle period of Koryŏ: focusing on the royal preceptor Wŏn'gyŏng, 1985] and "Hwaŏm-jong-ŭi kyesung-gwa sosok sawŏn: Koryŏ-ŭi sa tae chongp'a-wa sosok sawŏn" 華嚴宗의 繼承과 所屬寺院: 高麗의 四大宗派와 所屬寺院 [The succession of the Hwaŏm lineage and the temples belonging to it: focusing on the four great lineages of Koryŏ dynasty and the temples belonging to them, 1986] investigated in detail the temples belonging to the Hwaŏm lineage of Koryŏ dynasty, and CHAE Sangsik 蔡尙植 in his "Ch'ew'on-ŭi chŏsul-gwa Hwaŏm sasang" 體元의 著述과 華嚴思想 [Ch'ewŏn's works and Hwaŏm thought, 1982] made an investigation of the development of the 13th c. Hwaŏm lineage.

Research on Huayan thought during the Chosŏn period, when the Hwaŏm tradition had disappeared and only the Sŏn tradition remained, has not been that much actively pursued. The Huayan thought of the 15th c. monk Solcham, who has left annotations to Ŭisang's Pŏpkyedo behind, became the main object of research: There are MOK Jeong-bae's [Mok Chŏngbae] 睦楨培 "Sŏlcham-ŭi Pŏpkyedo chu go" 雪岑의 法界圖注考 [An inquiry into Sŏlcham's Pŏpgyedo chu, 1982], HAN Jongman's [Han Chongman] 韓鍾萬 "Sŏlcham-ŭi Hwaŏm sasang" 雪岑의 華嚴思想 [Sŏlcham's Hwaŏm thought, 1991], KIM Ji-gyeon's [Kim Chigyŏn] 金知見 "Sŏlcham-ŭi Hwaŏm-gwa Sŏn-ŭi segye" 雪岑의 華嚴과 禪의 世界 [Sŏlcham's world of Hwaŏm and Sŏn, 1983], etc. In the latter's research, it is said that the particular thought characteristic of the representative Hwaŏm scholars of Korea, continuing from Ŭisang, over Chinul to Sŏlcham, is "nature-origination" (*sŏnggi* 性起) thought. This position of KIM Ji-gyeon has exerted strong influence on some researchers who, from the end of the 1980s onwards, in their research on Huayan thought considers nature-origination particularly important. Besides, YI Yŏngmu 李英茂 in his "*Yŏndam sagi*-rŭl t'onghae pon Chosŏn sidae-ŭi Hwaŏmhak" 蓮潭私記를 통해 본

朝鮮時代의 華嚴學 [The Hwaŏm learning of the Chosŏn period as seen through the *Yŏndam sagi*, 1982] investigated the Hwaŏm thought of Yŏndam, who is the representative Hwaŏm scholar-monk of the 18th c.

A selection of secondary literature on Huayan in Korean language

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ŌTAKE SUSUMU

ON THE ORIGIN AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE *BUDDHĀVATAṂSAKA-SŪTRA*

Introduction

In this paper I will investigate the origin and early development of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* by examining the history of the term "*Buddhāvataṃsaka*" which is widely found in the Indian, Tibetan, and Chinese Buddhist canons.

As is well known, the entire body of this *sūtra* has come down to us in two Chinese versions, one of which being translated by Buddhabhadra in 418–420, the other by Śikṣānanda in 695–699, as well as a Tibetan version translated by Jinamitra et al. at the end of ninth century. Hereafter I will refer to these texts as the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*s.

Among the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*s, the reliability of the Tibetan version is sometimes questioned, for the *Zhiyuan fabao kantong zonglu* 至元法寶勘同總録, a thirteenth century Buddhist catalogue which compares Chinese and Tibetan translations, states that the Tibetan version was translated from the Chinese version[1]. However this is not a plausible statement. A comparative reading of the Chinese and Tibetan versions reveals that the Tibetan version disagrees greatly with the Chinese versions. When commenting on Śikṣānanda's version, Huiyuan's 慧苑 commentary (*Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* 續華嚴經略疏刊定記)[2] often provides transcriptions or literal translations of Sanskrit words, and points out that Śikṣānanda's version does not strictly follow the Sanskrit original. I have confirmed that the Tibetan version agrees very well with Huiyuan's transcriptions or literal translations. I have prepared a detailed study of the information contained in Huiyuan's commentary. Since I am convinced that the Tibetan version was translated directly from Sanskrit, in this paper I will use the Tibetan version as a source equal in importance to the Chinese versions.

What is the Sanskrit Equivalent for the Chinese "*Huayan*"?

In the Chinese Buddhist tradition, the Sanskrit equivalent for the Chinese "*Huayan*" is considered to be "*Gaṇḍavyūha*", while in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition the

1 T Shōwa Hōbō Sōmokuroku 2, 25, 190b.
2 XZJ vol. 5.

Sanskrit equivalent for this term is understood as "*Avataṃsaka*". Since the Meiji era, this discordance has attracted the attention of the Japanese academic world.

As is well known, the Chinese "*Huayan*" was first identified with the Sanskrit "*Gaṇḍavyūha*" by Fazang 法藏 in his commentary on the *Huayan jing* (*Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記).[3] In this connection, Divākara's Chinese translation of the *Ghanavyūha-sūtra*, which Fazang lent assistance in translating, has the term "*Huayan*" as the equivalent of the Tibetan "*Sdong pos brgyan*" (Skt. **Gaṇḍavyūha*):

十地花嚴等　大樹與神通
勝鬘及餘經　皆從此經出[4]

sa bcu pa yi mdo mchog dang // sdong pos brgyan dang dru ma yi //
gang yang rnam par sprul pa'i mdo // dpal gyi phreng ba la bshad dang //
rnam par snang ba'i mdo sde dang // sgyu ma dpa' las 'gro ba sogs //
mdo sde rnam pa sna tshogs dag // stug po'i rgyan nas rnam par 'byung //[5]

This is a solid piece of example in support of Fazang's belief that the Chinese "*Huayan*" is identical to the Sanskrit "*Gaṇḍavyūha*".

Yet despite his belief, this identification is somewhat problematic. Sakurabe Hajime has dealt with the two occurrences of the term "*fo huayan sanmei*" 佛華嚴三昧 in the *Huayan jing* itself and pointed out that their Tibetan equivalents are "*sangs rgyas tshogs kyi ting nge 'dzin*" and "*sangs rgyas phal po che zhes bya ba'i ting nge 'dzin*", where both mean "a meditation named *Buddhāvataṃsaka*".[6] This proves that when the *Huayan jing* was translated, the translators rendered the Sanskrit text's "*Avataṃsaka*" with "*Huayan*".

Buddhabhadra's translation: *huayan sanmei* 華嚴三昧[7]
Śikṣānanda's translation: *fo huayan sanmei* 佛華嚴三昧[8]
Tibetan translation: *sangs rgyas tshogs kyi ting nge 'dzin*[9]
Buddhabhadra's translation: *qi sanmei ming fo huayan* 其三昧名佛華嚴[10]
Śikṣānanda's translation: *guangda sanmei ming fo hua zhuangyan* 廣大三昧名佛華莊嚴[11]
Tibetan translation: *ting nge 'dzin chen po sangs rgyas phal po che zhes bya ba*[12]

3 T 1733: 35.121a.
4 T 681: 16.729c.
5 P 778: Cu 20b6–8
6 Sakurabe 1969.
7 T 278: 9.434c.
8 T 279: 10.74a.
9 P 761: Yi 241a2.
10 T 278: 9.631c.
11 T 279: 10.279b.
12 P 761: Shi 145a2.

Sakurabe's statement is supported also by a Sanskrit fragment of the *Samantabhadracaryānirdeśa* chapter from the *Huayan jing*, which ends with the following colophon:

> Explication of the practice of Samantabhadra, chapter 30 of the great *vaipulya sūtra Buddhāvataṃsaka* in 100,000 lines, has ended. //31//
>
> Buddhāvataṃsake mahāvaipulyasūtre śatasahasrike granthe samantabhadracaryānirdeśaparivartto nāma triṃśatimaḥ samāptaḥ //31//

This fragment once belonged to Dalai Lama XII and is now preserved in St. Petersburg.[13] According to the colophon, the Sanskrit equivalent for the Chinese "*Huayan*" is not "*Gaṇḍavyūha*" but "*Avataṃsaka*". As shown above, the number '31' added to the end of the colophon is different from the chapter number '30'. MATSUDA Kazunobu examined the colophon and pointed out that if the chapter number '30' were emended to '31', it would agree with the number of the chapter in Buddhabhadra's translation.[14]

Another interesting point provided by the colophon is that the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is said to consist of 100,000 lines. Additionally, the postscript to Buddhabhadra's translation of the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* states that the Sanskrit original of the *Huayan jing* consisted of 100,000 lines, though the Khotan manuscript of the *Huayan jing* from which Buddhabhadra's translation was made had only 36,000 lines:

> The Sanskrit original of the *Huayan jing* has about 100,000 lines. Years ago the lay Buddhist Zhi Faling brought these 36,000 lines from Khotan.
>
> 華嚴經梵本凡十萬偈。昔道人支法領從于闐國得此三萬六千偈。[15]

What does the Term "*Buddhāvataṃsaka*" Mean?

Being influenced by the East Asian Buddhist tradition, modern scholars tend to call this *sūtra* "*Huayan*" or "*Avataṃsaka*". In contrast, Sakurabe pointed out the importance of the compound "*fo huayan*" or "*buddhāvataṃsaka*". Bearing this in mind, what does the term "*buddhāvataṃsaka*" mean? Sakurabe addressed this question by focusing his attention on the so-called Śrāvastī miracle. When the Buddha forbade monks to exercise supernatural powers, heretics challenged the Buddha to exercise his own supernatural powers. He accepted the challenge and performed a miracle at Śrāvastī. According to the Pāli tradition, the miracle was the *yamakapāṭihāriya* (Skt. *yamakaprātihārya*) or "the miracle of double appearances". When the Buddha performed this miracle, flames of fire and a stream of water appeared alternatively from the upper parts and lower parts of his body. Flames of fire and streams of water were

13 Mironov 1914: no.422.
14 Matsuda 1988.
15 T 278: 9.788b.

also produced alternatively from the right side of his body and from the left. In this tradition, it is said that the *yamakapāṭihāriya* can only be performed by the Buddha.

However, according to the Sarvāstivāda tradition (for example, the *Divyāvadāna* XI *Prātihārya-sūtra*), the miracle then performed by the Buddha was the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* or "legion of Buddhas". When the Buddha performed this miracle, a large number of emanation Buddhas seated on lotus blossoms materialized. And each of these emanation Buddhas in turn produced a large number of emanation Buddhas seated on lotus blossoms. In this way, a legion of Buddhas which reached as far as the Akaniṣṭha heaven appeared. In this tradition, it is said that the *yamakaprātihārya* can be performed by both the Buddha and *śrāvaka*s, while the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* can only be performed by the Buddha.

In the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, the term *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is not dealt with in any detail. For this reason, Sakurabe did not mention the relationship between the Sarvāstivāda literature and the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. However, I have found some interesting passages in the *Bhadraśrī*, a chapter of the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, whose focus is to deliniate the superior miracle made manifest by the bodhisattva's meditations such as the "*Buddhāvataṃsaka* meditation" and the "Ocean Seal meditation". When appraising the miracle, the text makes use of images similar to the Sarvāstivāda literature's *Buddhāvataṃsaka* miracle[16]:

Buddhabhadra's translation:

若具衆相三十二　八十種好自莊嚴　八十種好自莊嚴　其身光明無有量
若身光明無有量　光明莊嚴難思議　若光莊嚴難思議　則出無量寶蓮華
若出無量寶蓮華　一一華坐無量佛　普現十方無量剎　教化度脱一切衆[17]

Śikṣānanda's translation:

若相莊嚴三十二　則具隨好爲嚴飾　若具隨好爲嚴飾　則身光明無限量
若身光明無限量　則不思議光莊嚴　若不思議光莊嚴　其光則出諸蓮華
其光若出諸蓮華　則無量佛坐華上　示現十方靡不遍　悉能調伏諸衆生[18]

Tibetan translation:

mtshan rab sum bcu gnyis dang su ldan pa //
de dag dpe byad bzang pos lus kyang bris //
dpe' byad bzang pos gang gi lus bris pa //
de dag lus 'od kun tu mtha' yas so //
gang gis lus 'od kun tu mtha' yas pa //
de dag 'od gzer brgyan kyang bsam mi khyab //
gang la 'od gzer bsam yas rgyan yod pa //
de dag 'od las pad mo mang po 'byung //
gang gi 'od las pa dmo mang 'byung ba //

16 For an English translation from Śikṣānanda's version, see Cleary 1985: 336.
17 T 278: 9.434a.
18 T 279: 10.73b.

de dag rgyal ba pad mo'i gdan bzhugs te //
ston cing phyogs bcu'i 'jig rten kun tu yang //
don yod rnam par spyod cing sems can 'dul //[19]

Having accessed the superior miracle given to the bodhisattva, the chapter regards the *Yamakaprātihārya* as an inferior miracle of the *śrāvaka*.[20]

Buddhabhadra's translation:

得八解脫心自在　一身能作無量身　以無量身作一身　於虛空中入火定
身上出水身下火　身上出火身下水　行住坐臥虛空中　於一念中自在變
彼不具足大慈悲　不爲衆生求佛道　尙能示現難思議　況大饒益自在力[21]

Śikṣānanda's translation:

聲聞心住八解脫　所有變現皆自在　能以一身現多身　復以多身爲一身
於虛空中入火定　行住坐臥悉在空　身上出水身下火　身上出火身下水
如是皆於一念中　種種自在無邊量　彼不具足大慈悲　不爲衆生求佛道
尙能現此難思事　況大饒益自在力[22]

Tibetan translation:

sems kyi lam la rnam thar brgyad gnas pa'i //
nyan thos gcig tu gyur cing mang por 'gyur //
mang por gyur cing be bzhin gcig gyur te //
nam mkha' 'di la bsam gtan 'chang zhing 'bar //
'og nas me 'bar steng nas chu'i rgyun //
steng nas me 'bar 'og nas chu'i rgyun //
'gro 'dug nyal zhing 'greng ba de bzhin te //
skad cig gcig la lus 'phrul bsam mi khyab //
de ni snying rje chen po ldan ma yin //
byang chub mi tshol 'jig rten yal bar gzhog //
'on kyang lus 'phrul bsam gyis mi khyab ston //
'jig rten phan tshol ci'i phyir de mi ston //[23]

Sanskrit fragment (The second verse that describes the *Yamakaprātihārya* is omitted):

te ca vaśe sthita aṣṭa vimokṣāḥ śrāvaka ekabhavī bahu bhontī /
bhūtva bahuḥ puna eka bhavitvā dhyāyati prajvalate gaganasmin //
te hi mahākaruṇāya vihīnā bodhi anarthiku loka upekṣī /
darśayi kāyavikurva acintyā kasya na darśayi lokahitaiṣī //[24]

It is clear that the Sarvāstivāda literature and the *Bhadraśrī* chapter of the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* share the term "*Buddhāvataṃsaka*" which indicates a miracle no one is able to perform besides the Buddha.

19 P 761: Yi 239a6–239b1.
20 For an English translation from Śikṣānanda's version, see Cleary 1985: 359.
21 T 278: 9.439a–b.
22 T 279: 10.78b–c.
23 P 761: Yi 252a2–5.
24 Ś 345, 13–16.

Was the Large Buddhāvataṃsaka Compiled in Central Asia?

It is a matter of common knowledge that the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is a compendium of a number of texts, most of which originally circulated as *sūtra*s in their own right. In Indian Buddhist texts, there are hardly any references to a collection bearing the name *Buddhāvataṃsaka.* Both Buddhabhadra's and Śikṣānanda's translation of the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* were made from manuscripts brought from Khotan, in Central Asia. A chapter from this *sūtra*, entitled the "*Dwelling places of bodhisattvas*" (*Pusa zhuchu pin* 菩薩住處品; *Byang chub sems dpa'i gnas*), refers to China and Kashgar in Central Asia. Judging from such circumstantial evidence, some contemporary scholars have argued that the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* was compiled and partly amended in Central Asia.

In opposition to this view, HIRAKAWA Akira says: "the Sanskrit text upon which the Tibetan translation was based was probably brought from India, not Central Asia. The possibility of Central Asian augmentation to the text requires further investigation".[25] I, too, agree that there is still room for argument concerning the site of compilation. While the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* must have been a popular collection in Central Asia, there does exist a small amount of sound evidence that confirms India as the location of its assembly. Here I would like to offer a few examples.

First, as HADANI Ryōtai[26] and TERAMOTO Enga[27] have indicated, the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is not familiar with the geography of Central Asia. The chapter entitled the "*Dwelling places of bodhisattvas*" states that Mount Gośīrṣa (Gośṛiṅga) is located in Kashgar. However this mountain is, in fact, located in Khotan. Given that the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* was compiled and partly appended in Central Asia, such a mistake should not have occurred. Thus it seems quite probable that this *sūtra* was not compiled in Central Asia, but was brought to Central Asia from elsewhere.

Second, let us take a look at the following episode found in Jizang's 吉藏 (549–623) treatise on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (*Jingming xuan lun* 浄名玄論):

> Question: Why does the *Huayan* [*jing*] uniquely not contain an explanation of its own title? Answer: Although this *sūtra* consists of 100,000 lines, [Buddhabhadra's Chinese] translation is not complete. The explanation of the title must be contained in a latter part [which is still as yet untranslated]. When I went to Chang'an, I met the Dharma master Sengtan who had returned from Khotan. There [he] had seen a biography of Nāgārjuna, which ran [as follows]: There are three texts of the *Huayan* [*jing*]. The large text bears as many lines as the amount of dust found in 1,000,000,000 worlds, and [includes] chapters as large as the amount of dust ranging over 4 continents. The middle text has 498,800 lines and 1,200 chapters. Both of these two texts are preserved in the dragon's palace, and were not brought [to the human world] by Nāgārjuna. [He] brought only the small text which has 100,000 lines and 36 chapters. In this country (China), nothing exists but a translation

25 Hirakawa 1990: 280.
26 Hadani 1914: 343.
27 Teramoto 1921: 129; 135–136.

which consists of 36,000 lines and 34 chapters. Therefore we should understand that, regarding the *Huayan* [*jing*], the explanation of its own title must be included in that latter part.

問。華嚴一部何故文無立名。答。此經凡有十萬偈傳譯未尽。立名當在後也。至長安見僧曇法師從于闐還。於彼處見龍樹傳云。華嚴凡有三本。大本有三千大千世界微塵偈一四天下微塵品。中本有四十九萬八千八百偈一千二百品。此二本並在龍宮龍樹不誦出也。唯誦下本十萬偈三十六品。此土唯有三萬六千偈三十四品。故知華嚴名數在數（後？）分矣。[28]

Jizang introduces this episode in his commentary on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (*Weimo jing yi shu* 維摩經義疏)[29] and commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Twelve Gates Treatise* (*Shi'er men lun shu* 十二門論疏)[30] as well. Fazang, in his commentary on the *Huayan jing* (*Huayanjing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記),[31] also refers to this account of the three *Huayanjing*s being transmitted from the western regions.[32]

Sengtan 僧曇 is one of the eleven monks who traveled to Central Asia between 575 and 582 for the purpose of obtaining Indic *sūtra*s. In fact, he brought back to China 260 *sūtra*s (See the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀[33]). As we see, Jizang seems to have been acquainted with Sengtan. This episode demonstrates that the Khotanese people regarded their large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* in 100,000 lines as an incomplete text. It seems quite probable that the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* was not compiled in Central Asia, but was brought to Central Asia from elsewhere.

Third, in the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* X.30 when commenting on the words "the *sūtra* in 100,000 lines, being a *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*", Paramārtha's translation of the *Mahāyānasaṃgrahabhāṣya* furnishes the interpretation that the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* (basket of bodhisattva practices) here implies the *Huayan jing* having 100,000 lines (又華嚴經有百千偈故名百千經).[34] Although this interpretation is not found in any other translation of the *Mahāyānasaṃgrahabhāṣya*, this attitude which regards the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* as a *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* is also found in the following colophon of a Dunhuang manuscript:

Explication of the ten stages, entitled the "*Creator of Wisdom of the Omniscient Being by Degrees*",[35] a chapter of the great vehicle *sūtra Bodhisattvapiṭaka Buddhāvataṃsaka*, has ended.

28 T 1780: 38.863b.
29 T 1781: 38.913c.
30 T 1825: 42.180a.
31 T 1733: 35.122b.
32 Fazang's *Huayan jing zhuanji* 華嚴經傳記 (T 2073: 51.153a) and Sengxiang's 僧詳 *Fahua zhuanji* 法華傳記 (T 2068: 51.153ab) attribute a similar account to Paramārtha.
33 T 2034: 49.104b.
34 T 1595: 31.263a.
35 This title may agree with Dharmarakṣa's Chinese translation of the *Daśabhūmika*: *Jianbei yiqie zhi de jing* 漸備一切智德經.

byang chub sems dpa'i sde snod / sangs rgyas phal po che theg pa chen po'i mdo la rims kyis / thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes kyi 'byung gnas zhes bya ba sa bcu pa bstan pa'i le'u rdzogs so //[36]

Judging from the argument above, we may suppose the possibility that the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* was known not only in Central Asia but also in southern India where Paramārtha was from.[37] In this connection, I recently found an interesting passage in a commentary on the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, namely the *Vivṛtaguhyārtha-piṇḍavyākhyā* (VGPV) preserved in the Tibetan Tanjur. When commenting on the passage: "And they (i.e., the ten themes treated by the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*) show the superiority of the Great Vehicle. The Bhagavat reserves the teaching only for bodhisattvas" in the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha Prastāvanā* 3, the VGPV states as follows:

This means that [the Great Vehicle is] superior because its listeners are superior. That is to say, according to disciples' grades, [the Buddha's] teaching is [classified as] inferior and superior. For example, the inferior was taught to the merchants Trapuṣa and Ballika because they were ordinary men; the middle was taught to a group of five [men] because they were at the stage of saints; the eightfold *Prajñāpāramitā*s were taught to bodhisattvas, and [the *Prajñāpāramitā*s] are superior in eliminating conceptually-imagined forms. The eightfold [*Prajñāpāramitā*s] are the teachings of the *Prajñāpāramitā*s as follows: the *Triśatikā*, *Pañcaśatikā*, *Saptaśatikā*, *Sārdhadviśatikā*, *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā*, *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, and *Śatasāhasrikā*. The teaching of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and the like is superior to all because, in these [*sūtra*s], by teaching the one-vehicle the people of undetermined gotra are led [to the bodhisattva's gotra]. The teaching of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* and the like is the most excellent because in these [*sūtra*s] it is taught that *Tathāgata*s remain and deliver people as long as the world exists. Teaching the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is the most excellent and superior because this *sūtra* was taught immediately after the *Tathāgata* attained enlightenment, only to those bodhisattvas all over the world who possess the supernatural power of the ten stages.

'dis ni gdul ba mchog nyid kyi phyir mchog nyid do zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go // 'di ltar gdul ba'i dbang gis kyang bstan pa dman pa dang mchog [D : P ad. pa dang] nyid yin te / dper na so so'i skye bo yin pa'i phyir [D : P om. phyir] tshong pa ga gon dang mdzes ldan dag gi ched du ni dman pa bstan / 'phags pa'i skabs yin pas lnga sde'i dbang du mdzad nas ni 'bring / byang chub sems rnams kyi dbang du mdzad nas ni / shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rnam pa brgyad bstan te / brtags pa'i rnam pa dgag pa'i sgo nas mchog go // rnam pa brgyad ni shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa sum brgya dang / lnga brgya dang / bdun brgya pa dang / nyis stong lnga brgya pa dang / brgyad stong pa dang / khri brgyad stong pa dang / nyi khri lnga stong pa dang / 'bum pa bstan pa yin no // dam pa'i chos pa dma dkal po la sogs pa bstan pa ni rab kyi mchog yin te / 'di ltar de las ni theg pa gcig bstan pas ma nges pa'i rigs can rnams kyang de las 'dren to // mya ngan las 'das pa chen po'i mdo la sogs pa bstan pa ni rab kyi phul yin te / 'di ltar de las ni de bzhin gshegs pa rnams 'khor ba ji srid par bzhugs shing sems can gyi don mdzad par bstan to // sangs rgyas phal po che'i mdo bstan pa ni rab kyi phul gyi mchog yin te / 'di ltar mdo de ni de bzhin gshegs pa

36 de la Vallée Poussin 1962: no.132.

37 According to the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歴代三寶紀 (T 2034: 49.88b), Paramārtha brought Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Huayan jing, Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra and Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (華嚴涅槃金光明) to China.

mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas nas ring po ma lon par phyogs bcu na gnas pa'i byang chub sems dpa' sa bcu'i dbang phyug rnams la la na cig tu [P : D om. tu] rab tu bstan to //[38]

Here we meet with a kind of doctrinal classification. Trapuṣa and Ballika are the first lay Buddhists who supplied food to the Buddha when he attained enlightenment. The group of five men are the monks to whom the Buddha gave his first sermon. Most interesting in the previous discussion is the reference to the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* as representing the most superlative teaching of Buddhism. Given that the VGPV was produced in India, this passage furnishes a piece of evidence that the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* had circulated in India.

The VGPV is extant only in Tibetan. Neither its author nor its translator is known. The only certain date of completion is 824, when the *Ldan dkar ma* catalogue in which the VGPV is listed was compiled. In an earlier article, I supposed that the VGPV was produced in sixth century Central Asia, where the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* had enjoyed popularity.[39] However this remains but a hypothesis. At the present, I am still investigating the origin of the VGPV through an analysis of its contents.

Regardless of whether the VGPV was compiled in India or Central Asia, it is likely that such a high assessment of the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* in the western region influenced Chinese Buddhism. The rise of *Huayan* worship in China may have been based on admiration for the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* in the western regions.

The Original *Buddhāvataṃsaka* Group (1)

Modern scholars tend to think that various *sūtra*s each bearing its own name (*Daśabhūmika*, etc.) were collected and then that collection was entitled the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. In other words, the title *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is not the name of each included *sūtra* but the name of the collection as a whole. However careful examination of the related materials leads us to conclude that before the compilation of the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* a kind of *sūtra* was in circulation which, while each bore its own individual name on one hand, also shared the alternate title *Buddhāvataṃsaka* on the other. Some of these texts are not included in the current large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*s, yet they seem to have been the precursors of the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. I would like to refer to these texts as the original *Buddhāvataṃsaka* group and suppose that this group contains at least the following four *sūtra*s:

Sūtra 1

Fo shuo dousha jing 佛說兜沙經 (T 280. Translated by Lokakṣema between 146 and 189)

38 D 4052: Ri 301a3–301b1; P 5553: Li 362a3–362b1.
39 Ōtake 2002.

Rulai minghao pin 如來名號品 (Chapter 3 of Buddhabhadra's large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*; Chapter 7 of Śikṣānanda's large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*)
Sangs rgyas kyi mtshan shin tu bstan pa or **Buddhalakṣaṇaprakāśa* (Chapter 12 of the Tibetan large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*)

Sūtra 2

Xinli ruyin famen jing 信力入印法門經 (T 305. Translated by Dharmaruci in 504)
Dad pa'i stobs bskyed pa la 'jug pa'i phyag rgya zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (*Śraddhābalādhānāvatāramudrā nāma mahāyāna-sūtram*)

Sūtra 3

Du zhufo jingjie zhiguangyan jing 度諸佛境界智光嚴經 (T 302. Translator unknown)
Fo huayan ru rulai de zhi busiyi jingjie jing 佛華嚴入如來德智不思議境界經 (T 303. Translated by Jñānagupta between 581 and 601)
Dafangguang ru rulai zhi de busiyi jing 大方廣入如來智德不思議經 (T 304. Translated by Śikṣānanda between 652 and 710)
De bzhin gshegs pa'i yon tan dang ye shes bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i yul la 'jug pa bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (*Tathāgataguṇajñānācintyaviṣayāvatāranirdeśa nāma mahāyāna-sūtram*).

Sūtra 4

Fozang dafangdeng jing 佛藏大方等經 (Alternative title: *Wen mingxian jing* 問明顯經. Translator unknown; not extant)
Pusa mingnan pin 菩薩明難品 (Chapter 6 of Buddhabhadra's large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*)
Pusa wenming pin 菩薩問明品 (Chapter 10 of Śikṣānanda's large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*)
Byang chub sems dpa's dris pa snang ba or **Bodhisattvapraśnāloka* (Chapter 15 of the Tibetan large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*)

Concerning *Sūtra* 1, Lokakṣema's *Fo shuo dousha jing* 佛說兜沙經, the earliest translation of *Sūtra* 1, deserves our notice. Modern scholars have identified "*dousha*"[40] hypothetically with the Sanskrit "*toṣa*", "*tathāgata*", "*daśottama*", "*daśaka*" and so on. However it seems to me natural to identify this transcription with "*avataṃsaka*" or its Prākrit form, something like "*avataṃsa*" or "*vataṃsa*" in the Pāli language.

With respect to *Sūtra* 2, I have located an Indian Buddhist treatise which calls this *sūtra* the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. The *Sūtrasamuccaya* attributed to Nāgārjuna, quotes three times from the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Sangs rgyas phal po che'i*

40 According to W. South Coblin's reconstruction, the transcription 兜沙 may have been pronounced "**tou sla*" in Eastern Han. See Coblin 1983: 248.

mdo),[41] and they all correspond with *Sūtra* 2.[42] Along the same lines, what the *Huayan jing liangjuan zhigui* 華嚴經兩卷旨歸 (HLZh), a sixth century text attributed to Sanzang Fotuo 三藏佛陀 (the Tripiṭaka Master Buddha), has to say on *Sūtra* 2 rates attention:

> The *Śraddhābalādhānāvatāramudrā[dharmaparyāya]-sūtra* was preached at the meeting held in the Hall of Brightness; it is a detached part of the *Huayan* [*jing*].
>
> 信力入印法門經普光會訖是華嚴別傳。[43]

This "Hall of Brightness" is the name of the hall where the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is said to have been partly preached (for further information, see below). As Ishii Kōsei[44], who edited and annotated the concerned text, pointed out, this statement is referred to in the *Huayan jing zhuanji* 華嚴經傳記:

> The *Xinli ruyin famen jing* in five volumes was translated in the Yuan Wei era by Dharmaruci of southern India, whose name can be rendered into Chinese as Xifa. Concerning the above-mentioned *sūtra*, the old masters have said that this is a part of the *Huayan* [*jing*] which has been separated from it. [However,] once we examine its contents carefully throughout the text, it turns out that there is nothing resembling the *Huayan* [*jing*] at all. Recently I checked a Sanskrit manuscript [of the *Huayan jing*] and found that there is also no chapter like this. Further investigation is required.
>
> 信力入印法門經五卷 元魏南天竺曇摩流支魏云希法譯 右件經古德相傳云是華嚴別品。詳其文句始終 總無華嚴流類。近勘梵本 亦無此品。請後人詳究。[45]

Although the *Huayan jing zhuanji* questioned the affiliation of *Sūtra* 2 with the *Huayan jing*, what the HLZh says is, as we have already seen, corroborated by the *Sūtrasamuccaya*. Having remarked on the absence of Chinese thought in the HLZh, Ishii Kōsei inferred that this text was based partly on accounts from foreign monks.[46] Ishii's hypothesis might be supported by the fact I have pointed out above.

With respect to *Sūtra* 3, we find the suffix *fo huayan* 佛華嚴 in the title of Jñānagupta's version. This must be a translation of *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. Along with bearing its own title as the *Tathāgataguṇajñānācintyaviṣayāvatāranirdeśa*, this *sūtra* seems to have been given the alternate title of *Buddhāvataṃsaka* as well.

With respect to *Sūtra* 4, the *Fozang dafangdeng jing* 佛藏大方等經 or the *Wen mingxian jing* 問明顯經 requires our attention. This translation was first recorded as an anonymous translation in Fajing's 法經 catalogue of *sūtra*s, *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目録[47] which was compiled in 594. Another catalogue, the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歴代三寶紀 compiled in 597, ascribes this translation to Daoyan 道嚴 in the Liusong 劉

41 D ki 198a8–198b5; 213a7–214b5; 214b6–215a4.
42 Dharmaruci's translation: T 305: 10.945c–946a; 952ab; 958b.
43 Ishii 1996: 533.
44 Ishii 1996: 28–29.
45 T 2073: 51.156a.
46 Ishii 1996: 67.
47 T 2146: 55.119c

宋 era (420–478),[48] though its status remains uncertain because this catalogue is, as is well known, full of unwarranted attributions. I regard the title *Fozang dafangdeng jing* as a translation of **Buddhāvataṃsaka nāma mahāvaipulya-sūtram*, because we find that an old translation of the *Lokottaraparivarta*, the *Du shi pin jing* 度世品經 translated by Dharmarakṣa in 291, renders *Buddhāvataṃsaka* with *Fozang* 佛藏:

Dharmarakṣa's translation: *Fozang sanmei zhengshou* 佛藏三昧正受[49]
Buddhabhadra's translation: *Qi sanmei ming fo huayan* 其三昧名佛華嚴[50]
Śikṣānanda's translation: *Guangda sanmei ming fo hua zhuangyan* 廣大三昧名佛華莊嚴[51]
Tibetan translation: *ting nge 'dzin chen po sangs rgyas phal po che zhes bya ba*[52]

Along with bearing its own title as the **Praśnāloka*-sūtra, this *sūtra* seems to have been given the alternate title of "*Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* as well.

In addition to the above-mentioned alternate title common to the four *sūtra*s, we find at least three relationships between these four texts: First, at the end of *Sūtra* 1, ten bodhisattvas, one from each of the ten worlds, come to our world. *Sūtra* 4 was preached by these bodhisattvas. Second, at the beginning of *Sūtra*s 2 and 3, the Buddha's twenty-one qualities are enumerated.[53] The first ten qualities also appear at the beginning of *Sūtra* 1. This may indicate that *Sūtra* 1 precedes *Sūtra*s 2 and 3. Third, each *sūtra* is said to have been preached at the meeting held in the **Samantaprabhaḥ prāsādaḥ* or the Hall of Brightness.

Sūtra 1

Lokakṣema's translation: *Guangjing shenming* 光景甚明[54]
Buddhabhadra's translation: *Puguang fatang* 普光法堂[55]
Śikṣānanda's translation: *Puguang mingdian* 普光明殿[56]
Tibetan translation: *Pho brang kun tu 'od*[57]

48 T 2034: 49.94a.
49 T 292: 10.618a.
50 T 278: 9.631c.
51 T 279: 10.279b.
52 P 761: Shi 145a2.
53 These twenty-one qualities seem to have attracted the attention of the Yogācāra school, for the same qualities are quoted in the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* I.33 and employed also in the *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra* and the *Buddhabhūmi-sūtra*, both produced by that school.
54 T 280: 10.445a.
55 T 278: 9.418c.
56 T 279: 10.57c.
57 P 761: Yi 189b5.

Sūtra 2

Dharmaruci's translation: *Puguang fadian guangjing shenming* 普光法殿光景甚明[58]
Tibetan translation: *Kun nas 'od kyi khang pa*[59]

Sūtra 3

Anonymous translation: *Guangming gongdian* 光明宮殿[60]
Jñānagupta's translation: *Puguang tang* 普光堂[61]
Śikṣānanda's translation: *Puguangming dian* 普光明殿[62]
Tibetan translation: *Kun du 'od kyi khang bzangs*[63]

Sūtra 4

(In the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, this is included in a series of the sermons held in the Hall of Brightness *Puguang fatang hui* 普光法堂會.)

To the best of my knowledge, among the Buddhist *sūtra*s, the name of the location **Samantaprabhaḥ prāsādaḥ* occurs only in the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, *Sūtra* 2 and *Sūtra* 3. When expounding on this place, Fazang, in his commentary on the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記), introduces the following legend:

> Tradition says: the Hall of Brightness lies about three miles southeast of the bodhi-tree and on the bank of the river Hiraṇyavatī. When the Buddha attained his first enlightenment, dragons saw the Buddha's sitting outside under the tree, and thus made this hall for Him. This is indeed because dragons are apt to shelter someone when they admire him.
>
> 相傳。普光堂在菩提樹東南可三里許熙連河曲内。佛初成道諸龍見佛樹下露坐遂爲佛造此法堂。良以諸龍多爲陰覆供養故耳。[64]

This legend may have originated in India. However, we should not take the legend as indicating that such a hall ever existed in India as a matter of historical fact. Among the translations of *Sūtra* 1 Lokakṣema's translation has only the expression *guangjing shen ming* 光景甚明 (the spectacle was very bright) as an equivalent to other translations' Hall of Brightness. This suggests that when the oldest translation of *Sūtra* 1 was produced, the *sūtra* spoke only of the brightness of the Buddha's enlightenment, and did not make use of the proper noun the Hall of Brightness. This is also the case in the *Dengmu pusa suowen sanmei jing* 等目菩薩所問三昧經

58 T 305: 10.928c.
59 P 867: Tsu 15.
60 T 302: 10.912a.
61 T 303: 10.917b.
62 T 304: 10.924b.
63 P 852: Mu 116a5.
64 T 1733: 35.167b.

(*Samantanetraparipṛcchāsamādhi-sūtra*), translated by Dharmarakṣa, which was later incorporated into both Śikṣānanda's and the Tibetan versions of the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* as the chapter entitled the *Ten Meditations* (*Shiding pin* 十定品; *Ting nge 'dzin bcu*). Dharmarakṣa's translation has, instead of the other translation's Hall of Brightness, the expression *guangwei mingyao* 光煒明燿 (the light was very bright). I will compare them below. In any event, we should conclude that the Hall of Brightness did not historically exist. In fact, it must have been an imaginary construction derived from the brightness of the Buddha's enlightenment.

Among these four *sūtra*s *Sūtra* 2 and *Sūtra* 3 are not included in the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*s extant in both Chinese and Tibetan. However, concerning *Sūtra* 3, let us take note of the following passage from Zhiyan's 智儼 *Kong mu zhang* 孔目章:

> As far as the Sanskrit manuscript preserved in the great Ci'en temple is concerned, the ninth meeting should be added [to the *Huayan jing*]. There the Buddha stayed under the tree and in the Hall of Brightness, and then preached on the *Rulai gongde jingjie shang jingjie ru pin*.
>
> 若依大慈恩寺梵本增第九會。佛遊於樹下及普光堂處說如來功德境界上境界入品。[65]

This *Rulai gongde jingjie shang jingjie ru pin* 如來功德境界上境界入品 may correspond to our *Sūtra* 3.[66] This view is supported by the *Huayan jing zhuanji* 華嚴經傳記 which states that some Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Huayan jing* included *Sūtra* 3 as a chapter. Of the translations of *Sūtra* 3, the text relates the follows:

> Although the above-mentioned *sūtra*s such as the *Busiyi jingjie* 不思議境界 are not included in the current [Chinese] *Huayan* [*jing*], all Sanskrit manuscripts [of the *Huayan jing*] have them. They must be detached parts of this *sūtra* (*Huayan jing*). Since the Sanskrit manuscripts do not give [them] any chapter numbers, we should not incorporate [them] into the large [*Huayan*] collection.
>
> 右已上不思議境界等經現本華嚴內雖無此等品然勘梵本並皆具有。固是此經別行品會。爲梵本不題品次不編入大部。[67]

This suggests that the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* first incorporated *Sūtra* 3 in the early half of the seventh century.

To sum up, *Sūtra*s 1, 3 and 4 had been referred to by the title *Buddhāvataṃsaka* even before they were incorporated into the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, and *Sūtra* 2 was called the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* even though it was never assimilated into the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. Based on these facts, it should be clear that a group of *sūtra*s sharing the alternate title *Buddhāvataṃsaka* existed before the compilation of the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*.

65 T 1870: 45.587c.

66 At the very least, it does not correspond to either the *Da fangguang Huayan jing busiyi fo jingjie fen* 大方廣華嚴經不思議佛境界分 translated by Devaprajñā (T 300) or to the *Da fangguang rulai busiyi jingjie jing* 大方廣如來不思議境界經 translated by Śikṣānanda (T 301), for both those *sūtra*s were not taught in the Hall of Brightness.

67 T 2073: 51.156a.

The Original *Buddhāvataṃsaka* Group (2)

Besides *Sūtra*s 1–4, we may add the following three *Sūtra*s (5–7) to the original *Buddhāvataṃsaka* group, though I have yet to succeed in finding any evidence that they shared the alternate title *Buddhāvataṃsaka.*

Sūtra 5

Xianshou pusa pin 賢首菩薩品 (Chapter 8 of Buddhabhadra's large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*)
Xianshou pin 賢首品 (Chapter 12 of Śikṣānanda's large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*)
Bzang po'i dpal or **Bhadraśrī* (Chapter 17 of the Tibetan large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*)

Sūtra 6

Dengmu pusa suowen sanmei jing 等目菩薩所問三昧經 (T 288. Translated by Dharmarakṣa in 291)
Shiding pin 十定品 (Chapter 27 of Śikṣānanda's large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*)
Ting nge 'dzin bcu or **Daśasamādhi[ka]* (Chapter 33 of the Tibetan large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*)

Sūtra 7

Du shi pin jing 度世品經 (T 292. Translated by Dharmarakṣa in 291)
Li shijian pin 離世間品 (Chapter 33 of Buddhabhadra's large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*; Chapter 38 of Śikṣānanda's large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*)
'Jig rten las 'das pa; Cited in a large number of Sanskrit texts as the *Lokottaraparivarta* (Chapter 44 of the Tibetan large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*)

My view which regards them as belonging to the original *Buddhāvataṃsaka* group is based on the following reasons: First, these three *sūtra*s are, like *Sūtra*s 1–4, said to have been preached at the meeting held in the Hall of Brightness.

Sūtra 5

(In the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, this is included in the series of the sermons held in the Hall of Brightness *Puguang fatang hui* 普光法堂會.)

Sūtra 6

Dharmarakṣa's translation: *Guangwei mingyao* 光煒明燿[68]
Śikṣānanda's translation: *Pu guangming dian* 普光明殿[69]
Tibetan translation: *pho brang 'od thams cad kyi snying po can*[70]

68 T 288: 10.574c.
69 T 279: 10.211a.
70 P 761: Li 174b3.

Sūtra 7

Dharmarakṣa's translation: *Puguang jiangtang* 普光講堂[71]
Buddhabhadra's translation: *Puguang fatang* 普光法堂[72]
Śikṣānanda's translation: *Pu guangming dian* 普光明殿[73]
Tibetan translation: *pho brang 'od kun nas 'byung ba*[74]

Second, *Sūtra* 5 is said to have been preached by *Bhadraśrī, one of the ten bodhisattvas who came to the world at the end of *Sūtra* 1. Third, at the beginning of *Sūtra* 7, just like *Sūtra*s 1–3, the Buddha's twenty-one qualities are enumerated. Fourth, *Sūtra*s 5 and 7 are, as we have seen above, the only two places in which the term "*Buddhāvataṃsaka* meditation" appears. Of far greater interest is that with respect to the description of meditation there is an obvious parallelism between *Sūtra*s 5 and 6. Let us compare three passages from *Sūtra*s 5 and 6 by using both Śikṣānanda's and the Tibetan translations:

Passage 1[75]

Sūtra 5

Śikṣānanda's translation:

有妙蓮華光莊嚴　量等三千大千界　其身端坐悉充滿　是此三昧神通力[76]

Tibetan translation:

de dag pad mo mdzes pa stong gsum rtsam //
'od kyis rnam rgyan byin gyis brlab byas shing //
lus gcig skyil mo krung gi pad mo de //
yongs su rgyas ston ting 'dzin rnam par 'phrul //[77]

Sanskrit fragment:

te trisahasrapramāṇu vicitraṃ padmam adhiṣṭhihi raśmiviyūhāḥ /
kāyaparyaṅka parisphuṭa padmaṃ darśayi eṣa samādhivikurvā //[78]

71 T 292: 10.617b.
72 T 278: 9.631b.
73 T 279: 10.279a.
74 P 761: Shi 142b2.
75 For an English translation from Śikṣānanda's version, see Cleary 1985: 355, 17–20 and Cleary 1986: 131.
76 T 279: 10.77c.
77 P 761: Yi 249b4–5.
78 Ś 343, 13–14.

Sūtra 6

Śikṣānanda's translation:

佛子。菩薩摩訶薩以三千大千世界爲一蓮華現身遍此蓮華之上結跏趺坐。[79]

Tibetan translation:

'di la byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po / stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams pad mo'i gcig tu byin gyis rlabs te / pad mo gcig de rang gi skyil mo krung gis rgyas par khyab par byin gyis rlab bo //[80]

Passage 2[81]

Sūtra 5

Śikṣānanda's translation:

或於東方入正定　而於西方從定出　或於西方入正定　而於東方從定出
或於餘方入正定　而於餘方從定出　如是入出遍十方　是名菩薩三昧力[82]

Tibetan translation:

de dag shar gyi phyogs su mnyam bzhag cing //
dpa' bo de dag nub kyi phyogs nas ldang //
nub kyi phyogs su de bzhin mnyam bzhag cing //
shar gyi phyogs nas bdag nyid che ba ldang //
de bzhin phyogs bcu kun tu 'jug byed de //
phyogs rnams kun tu mnyam par gzhag byas shing //
ye shes yon tan mang po gzhan nas ldang //
drang srong ting 'dzin rnam 'phrul de 'dra'o //[83]

Sūtra 6

Śikṣānanda's translation:

佛子。此菩薩摩訶薩有十種入三昧差別智。何者爲十。所謂。東方入定西方起。西方入定東方起。南方入定北方起。北方入定南方起。東北方入定西南方起。西南方入定東北方起。西北方入定東南方起。東南方入定西北方起。下方入定上方起。上方入定下方起。是爲十。[84]

79 T 279: 10.213b.
80 P 761: Li 184b1–2.
81 For an English translation from Śikṣānanda's version, see Cleary 1985: 355, 41–356, 5 and Cleary 1986: 131.
82 T 279: 10.77c.
83 P 761: Yi 250a1–3.
84 T 279: 10.213b.

Tibetan translation:

kye rgyal ba'i sras dag bcu po dag 'di rnams ni byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po rnams kyi ting nge 'dzin gyi bye brag la 'jug pa'i ye shes te / bcu gang zhe na 'di ltar [1.] shar phyogs su snyoms par zhugs te lho phyogs nas rnam par ldang ba dang / [2.] lho phyogs su snyoms par zhugs te / shar phyogs nas rnam par ldang ba dang / [3.] shar dang byang mtshams su snyoms par zhugs te lho nub kyi phyogs nas rnam par ldang ba dang / [4.] lho nub kyi phyogs mtshams su snyoms par zhugs te / shar phyogs dang byang gi phyogs mtshams nas ldang ba dang / [5.] lho phyogs su snyoms par zhugs te / byang phyogs nas rnam par ldang dang / [6.] byang phyogs su snyoms par zhugs te / lho phyogs nas rnam par ldang dang / [7.] nub dang byang gi phyogs su snyoms par zhugs te / shar dang lho'i phyogs mtshams nas rnam par ldang dang / [8.] shar dang lho'i phyogs mtshams su snyoms par zhugs shing / nub dang byang gi mtshams nas rnam par ldang dang / [9.] 'og gi phyogs su snyoms par zhugs te / steng gi phyogs nas rnam par ldang dang / [10.] steng gi phyogs su sntoms par zhugs shing / 'og gi phyogs nas rnam par ldang ste / kye rgyal ba'i sras 'di rnams ni byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po dag gi ting nge 'dzin gyi bye brag la 'jug pa'i ye shes so //[85]

Passage 3[86]

Sūtra 5

Śikṣānanda's translation:

如阿脩羅變作身　蹈金剛際海中立　海水至深僅其半　首共須彌正齊等
彼有貪欲瞋恚癡　尚能現此大神通　況伏魔怨照世燈　而無自在威神力[87]

Tibetan translation:

sgra bsnyan ci dga' tshul dang lus rdzu na //
rdo rje gzhi la rkang pa'i mthil bor ni //
rgya mtsho'i zabs ring lta bar phyed cam byed //
ri rab rtse dang nyid kyi mgo yang snyom //
de ni 'dod chags zhe sdang gti mug can //
'on kyang de 'dra'i rdzu 'phrul ston byed na //
'jig rten sgron ma bdud rnams yongs 'dul ba //
rdzu 'phrul mtha' yas ci'i phyir ston mi byed //[88]

Sanskrit fragment:

rāhu yathe[ṣa] ya nirmaṇi kāyaṃ kurvati vajrapade talabandham /
darśana sāgaru nābhipramāṇaṃ bhoti sumerutale sama śīrṣaḥ //
so 'pi sarāgu sadoṣa samoho rāhu nidarśayi īdṛśa ṛddhī /
mārapramardana lokapradīpa kasya na darśayi ṛddhi anantā //[89]

85 P 761: Li 184a1–8.
86 For an English translation from Śikṣānanda's version, see Cleary 1985: 361, and Cleary 1986: 131, 25 f.
87 T 279: 10.79a.
88 P 761: Yi 253a6–7.
89 Ś 346,11–14.

Sūtra 6

Śikṣānanda's translation:

佛子。如羅喉阿脩羅王本身長七百由旬化形長十六萬八千由旬於大海中出其半身與須彌山而正齊等。佛子。彼阿脩羅王雖化其身長十六萬八千由旬然亦不壞本身之相諸蘊界處悉皆如本心不錯亂不於變化身而作他想於其本身生非己想本受生身恒受諸樂。化身常現種種自在神通威力。佛子。阿脩羅王有貪恚癡具足憍慢尚能如是變現其身。何況菩薩摩訶薩[90]

Tibetan translation:

kye rgyal ba'i sras dag / 'di lta ste dper na / lha ma yin gyi dbang po sgra can zhes bya ba yod de / de'i rang bzhin gyi lus ni dpag tshad bdun brgya'o // de'i sprul pa'i lus ni dpag tshad brgya stong drug bcu rtsa brgyad de / de'i lus phyed rgya mtsho chen po'i nang na / 'dug kyang lus kyi stong gyen du 'phags pa ri rab kyi rtsa mo dang snyam pa yang / kye rgyal ba'i sras lha ma yin gyi dbang po sgra can de sprul pa'i lus tshad brgya stong phrag drug bcu rtsa brgyad pa des sngon gyi lus 'jig par mi byed do // sngon skye ba'i phung po dang khams dang skye mched kyang yongs su nyams par mi 'gyur ro // lus chen po de yod pas kyang sprul pa'i lus gzhan du 'du shes par mi 'gyur te / lus snga ma shi 'phos pa'i 'du shes kyang med la bsar du skyes pa'i lus kyis kyang nyams dga' ba rab tu thos pa yin no // sprul pa'i lus des mthu dang dbang byed par dbang sbyar bar yang yang dag par ston na / rmongs shing 'khrul par gyur pa 'ang med de / lha ma yin gyi dbang po sgra gcan de ni 'dod chags can / zhe sdang can / gti mug can te de brgyal dang dregs pa dang / ldan yang rgya mtsho'i nang na gnas shing rgya mtsho'i nang gi khyim na 'du // bzhin du rnam pa de lta bu'i sprul pa'i lus kyis mngon par 'phags te / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po…[91]

In short, *sūtra*s that belong to the original *Buddhāvataṃsaka* group share some characteristics and are roughly connected each other. It is quite possible that the original *Buddhāvataṃsaka* group played a leading role in the compilation of the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka.*

Conclusion

My suggestions in this paper are as follows:

1. The Sanskrit equivalent for the term "Huayan" is not "*Gaṇḍavyūha*" but "*Avataṃsaka*";
2. The Sarvāstivāda literature and the Bhadraśrī chapter of the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* share the term "*Buddhāvataṃsaka*" which indicates a miracle no one is able to perform besides the Buddha;

90 T 279: 10.213b–c.
91 P 761: Li 184b7–185a5.

3. The large *Buddhāvataṃsaka* does not seem to have been compiled in Central Asia;
4. Before the compilation of the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, some *sūtra*s sharing the alternate title "*Buddhāvataṃsaka*" were in circulation. I designated these *sūtra*s as the original *Buddhāvataṃsaka* group. The majority of this group was later incorporated into the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. It seems likely that this group was a precursor to the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*.

Although most of the *sūtra*s of the original *Buddhāvataṃsaka* group appear to have formed the nucleus of the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, this fact does not imply that such *sūtra*s belong to the oldest strata of the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. Every *sūtra* in this group explicitly refers to the ten stages (*daśabhūmi*), so it is certain that at least the *Daśabhūmika* predates the original *Buddhāvataṃsaka* group. In a future paper I will go into more detail concerning the results of my research on the formation of the large *Buddhāvataṃsaka*.

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JAN NATTIER

INDIAN ANTECEDENTS OF HUAYAN THOUGHT: NEW LIGHT FROM CHINESE SOURCES*

The scripture known as the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*[1] (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經, Jpn. *Kegon-kyō*) has long played a major role in East Asian Buddhism. Two complete translations of the *sūtra* are extant in Chinese, one produced by the Indian translator Buddhabhadra 佛馱跋陀羅 in the early fifth century CE (*Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, **Mahāvaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*)[2] and another by the same title produced by the Khotanese translator *Śikṣānanda* 實叉難陀 at the end of the seventh century CE.[3] These two translations inspired numerous commentaries composed in East Asia, and they were widely cited in other texts. And in the well-known systems of doctrinal taxonomy (*panjiao* 判教) that were widely employed in East Asia as a means of organizing the chaotic richness of the Buddhist scriptures, the *Huayan jing* holds pride of place as the first discourse preached by the Buddha after his awakening. No Indic-language version of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* as a whole has been preserved, though two separate texts now included within this voluminous scripture – the *Daśabhūmika* and the *Gaṇḍavyūha* – are still extant in Sanskrit. A Tibetan translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* was also produced around 800 CE (*Sangs-rgyas phal-po-che zhes-bya-ba shin-tu rgyas-pa chen-po'i mdo*),[4] but it never approached the level of popularity of the *Huayan jing* in China. It is only natural, therefore, that most of the papers in this volume should be devoted to the legacy of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* in East Asia.

The *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, however, also belongs to the literary heritage of India, and it is from this angle that I would like to approach the text here. An insuperable obstacle to such an investigation might seem to be posed, at first glance, by the fact that most of the text has not been preserved in any Indic language. There is, how-

* I would like to thank to John R. McRae, Peter Skilling and Stefano Zacchetti for helpful comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this paper. Any errors that remain, of course, are my own.

1 On the rationale for using this title, rather than the more common *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, see Sakurabe 1969 and the paper by ŌTAKE Susumu in this volume.

2 T 278.

3 T 279.

4 Peking/Ōtani 761.

ever, a group of Chinese translations that have preserved the content of this text at an early stage of its development. Indeed, there is reason to think that these translations can reveal the shape of what might be called the "Proto-*Buddhāvataṃsaka*." In this paper, therefore, I will focus on what the content of these early translations can tell us about the antecedents of *Huayan* thought in India and about the early literary history of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* itself.

For this purpose our most important sources are not the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the large (the so-called "complete") *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, nor even the two parts of the text that have survived in Sanskrit. Instead, for the study of the antecedents of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* in India it is a group of early Chinese translations – often (and, as we shall see, erroneously) described as excerpts from the larger text – which provide our earliest window into the content of what would eventually develop into the text known as the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*.[5] Surprisingly, these texts have received little serious scholarly attention to date, despite the fact that they are not only vital to our understanding of the early development of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* in India but were actively appropriated by the composers of indigenous scriptures (both Buddhist and Daoist) in China.[6]

The oldest of these texts is the *Dousha jing* 兜沙經 (T 280), produced by Lokakṣema 支婁迦讖 in the latter part of the second century CE; the next is the *Pusa benye jing* 菩薩本業經 (T 281), translated by Zhi Qian 支謙 in the early to mid-third century. There is considerable overlap between these two texts, for the first third of Zhi Qian's translation contains material that corresponds in its general content (though not in its precise wording) to Lokakṣema's *Dousha jing*.

The *Dousha jing* as we have it, however, is not the complete text of Lokakṣema's original translation. As has long been noted, the *sūtra* breaks off abruptly, giving the impression that it is only part of a larger work. In an earlier paper I have provided a detailed study of the *Dousha jing* and related texts, offering evidence that the remaining portion of the text has been preserved in the scriptures now entitled *Zhu pusa qiu fo benye jing* 諸菩薩求佛本業經 (T 282) and *Pusa shizhu xingdao pin* 菩薩十住行道品 (T 283), respectively.[7] Whether deliberately or inadvertently, Lokakṣema's translation appears to have been separated into three pieces at an early stage of its circulation in China. The opening section has been preserved under the title *Dousha jing* (T 280), while the other two sections circulated separately and were eventually given titles of their own and assigned to other translators in medieval Chinese catalogues.

Since I have provided a detailed discussion of the rationale for this reconstruction in the paper mentioned above, I will not deal extensively with this issue here. In summary form, however, the evidence for this scenario is as follows:

5 For an overview of various scholarly positions on the relationship of these early translations to the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* see Kimura 1984.

6 For details on borrowings from these early translations see Appendix 2.

7 Nattier 2005.

(1) T 280 begins in normal fashion, but ends suddenly without anything resembling a conclusion; T 282 both begins and ends abruptly, while T 283 has no proper beginning and has at least a semblance of an ending. Each of these three texts, in sum, gives the impression not of being a complete *sūtra*, but a fragment.

(2) When these texts are arranged in the sequence T 280 + T 282 + T 283 this anomaly disappears; in fact, when read as a continuous text these three works (which we may refer to as the "*Dousha jing* group") offer a parallel to all of the material contained in Zhi Qian's *Pusa benye jing* (T 281). The *Dousha jing* group, in other words, comprises another complete Chinese translation (based on a different Indic-language recension) of the scripture translated by Zhi Qian.

(3) The attributions of T 282 and T 283 to translators other than Lokakṣema are late and unreliable, and they need not detain us from considering the possibility that both of these texts were originally part of Lokakṣema's translation of the *Dousha jing*.

(4) The language used in all three parts of the *Dousha jing* group is quite typical of Lokakṣema's vocabulary and style. Indeed, some terms used in T 282 and T 283 are so rare – appearing exclusively, or nearly so, in works translated by Lokakṣema – that they serve as virtual fingerprints of Lokakṣema's activity.

(5) Finally, there is clear continuity within the *Dousha jing* group, both in the flow of the narrative (which, as noted above, parallels that found in T 281) and in the names of the main characters. A relatively little-known bodhisattva introduced in T 280, Jñānaśrī (Re'nashili 惹那師利), reappears to ask a question of Mañjuśrī at the beginning of T 282. The bodhisattva Dharmamati (Tanmeimoti 曇昧摩提), introduced at the end of T 282, becomes in turn the main character in T 283, where he enters into *samādhi* and returns to describe what he has experienced there.

In sum, there is every reason to treat the three members of the *Dousha jing* group as three parts of an originally continuous text translated by Lokakṣema. The fact that this version exhibits several small but significant differences in content from the scripture subsequently translated by Zhi Qian as the *Pusa benye jing* makes it all the more valuable, since it offers testimony that, at the time these scriptures were transmitted to China, the *sūtra* was already circulating in India in more than one recension.[8]

Comparing these two scriptures – the *Pusa benye jing* and the *Dousha jing* group – with the material found in the Chinese translations of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, we find an interesting pattern of correspondence. The shorter texts do not correspond to a single section of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*; on the contrary, their content appears in widely separated sections of the larger *sūtra*. Significantly, these various "pieces" occur in precisely the same sequence in the *Pusa benye jing* and in the *Dousha jing* group as they do in the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* translations. Using

8 Though Zhi Qian is renowned for having revised earlier Chinese translations of Indian Buddhist texts, there is no evidence that his *Pusa benye jing* was based on Lokakṣema's earlier translation; indeed, the two texts appear to be quite independent. For further details see Nattier 2005.

the section divisions employed in my earlier study and treating the *Pusa benye jing* and the *Dousha jing* group together as representing two different recensions of the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, these corrrespondences are the following:[9]

Smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka*	Buddhabhadra's *Huayan jing*	Śikṣānanda's *Huayan jing*
§§1–3	first part of chapter 3	first part of chapter 7
§4	opening lines of chapter 5	opening lines of chapter 9
§§5–6	chapter 7	chapter 11
§7	beginning of chapters 9 & 10	beginning of chapters 13 & 14
§§8–9	beginning of chapter 11	beginning of chapter 15
§10	no precise equivalent	no precise equivalent

The content of the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, in other words, does not correspond to just one section of the larger *sūtra*, but parallels material that is widely scattered in these larger (and later) texts.

This comparison exhibits a pattern that is reminiscent of the relationship between the "Smaller Perfection of Wisdom" (the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*, or *Xiaopin* 小品) and the "Larger Perfection of Wisdom" (*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*, or *Dapin* 大品). In the latter case an early (smaller) *sūtra* has been expanded through countless interpolations interspersed here and there throughout the text, with hardly any material from the earlier work being lost in the process.[10] It seems likely that we are observing another example of the same process at work in the formation of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka.*

In sum, there is every reason to think that the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* grew out of a text whose content resembled that of the *Pusa benye jing* and the (reassembled) *Dousha jing*. What we have in these two Chinese translations, in other words, are two exemplars, based on two different Indian recensions, of an Indian ancestor of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka.*

It is important to add, however, that the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* as we have it is not necessarily the "original." There may well have been antecedents of the smaller text as well, and there is no way to locate its ultimate point of origin. Among extant texts, however, no scripture has yet been identified that can take us to an ear-

9 For a chart of the page and line numbers corresponding to these section numbers see Appendix 1.

10 Elsewhere I have described this as the "club-sandwich" mode of textual expansion. See Nattier 2003a, p. 62, n. 19 for a discussion of this process, which is also found in the *Ugraparipṛcchā-sūtra*.

lier point. Thus it seems reasonable to take the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, as preserved in the translations by Lokakṣema and Zhi Qian, as the logical point of departure for a discussion of the early history of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* in India.

The Smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka*: An Overview

The *sūtra* opens – as does the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* itself[11] – at the site of the Buddha Śākyamuni's awakening in Māgadha (§1a). In recognition of his accomplishment a large group of bodhisattvas with only one more life to live before the attainment of Buddhahood (*yisheng buchu* 一生補處, **ekajātipratibaddha*) come to the site. The text does not say where these bodhisattvas have come from, nor does it provide any of their names, but it is effusive in its praise of their paranormal powers, their comprehension of the Dharma,[12] and their ability to teach others (§1b).

The bodhisattvas think to themselves "The Buddha is mindful of us!" (*fo nian wudeng* 佛念吾等 in T 281; in T 280, *fo ai wocaodengbei* 佛愛我曹等輩 "The Buddha loves us!"), and they then reflect that they want the Buddha to show them all the buddha-fields (§1c), as well as the various qualities and activities of a bodhisattva (§1d). The list of these items varies from one recension to the other, but both versions mention several sets of ten, including ten stages (T 280 *shi fa zhu* 十法住, T 281 *shi di* 十地), ten practices (T 280 *shi fa suoxing* 十法所行, T 281 *shi xing* 十行) ten *samādhi*s (T 280 *shi sanmei* 十三昧, T 281 *shi ding* 十定). In addition the bodhisattvas wish to be shown the qualities of a Buddha, which include the four things a Buddha does not need to guard, the four fearlessnesses, and so on (§1e).

The Buddha, knowing what the bodhisattvas are thinking, responds by illuminating the universe.[13] For each of the ten directions the text provides the names of the Buddha and the bodhisattva residing there, as well as the name of the buddha-field itself (§2a–j). These ten bodhisattvas then arrive to join the others at the site of the Buddha's awakening, each accompanied by an unimaginably large number of other bodhisattvas.[14] Each of these bodhisattvas salutes the Buddha Śākyamuni and sits down on a lotus seat (according to T 281) or on a lion seat that spontaneously appears (according to T 280).[15]

11 This scene actually occurs several times in the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*; see below, p. 144.
12 More specifically, their comprehension of the "inner and outer dharmas" and the dharmas of the past, future, and present ("three roads" in T 281; for a discussion of the use of *tu* 途 "road" as a translation of *adhvan* in the sense of "time" in Zhi Qian's version see Shi 2000, pp. 43–45.
13 That this is the Buddha's doing is made explicit only in T 280 at the end of §1e.
14 The arrival of the bodhisattvas is mentioned at the end of each section (§2a–j) in T 280, but only at the end of §2j (in reference, however, to all ten directions) in T 281.
15 The spontaneous appearance of lion seats occurs in other early Chinese Buddhist translations as well; see for example Zhi Qian's translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (T 474: 14.519b28) and Dharmarakṣa's translations of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (T 263: 9.63b29) and the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (T 222: 8.147b9–10).

Mañjuśrī, who appeared near the beginning of the *sūtra* as the bodhisattva of the eastern direction, then begins to speak (both versions specify that he does so by the Buddha's power, **buddhānubhāvena*). He first exclaims how marvelous this is (§3a), then goes on to remark on the fact that in these buddha-fields beings have different appearances, speak different languages, and so on (§3b). As an example he offers a long list of epithets of the Buddha, stating that different names are used in different places (§3c).[16]

The Buddha then emits a ray of light from the bottom of his foot,[17] illuminating all the features of his own buddha-field: its oceans, mountains, and its four continents (§4a), as well as its various heaven-realms (§4b).[18] After noting that each buddha-field has such components (§4c, T 280 only), he then divides his body so as to manifest his form in each of the ten *koṭi*s of buddha-fields, so that all the gods and humans of those realms are able to see him as if he were close by (§4d).

At this point T 280 (alone among the various versions of the smaller and larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*) recapitulates the list of names of the bodhisattvas and Buddhas of the ten directions, in all probability in lieu of an ending, since the remainder of the text had somehow come to be separated from it. The second part of the text, however (now catalogued in the Taishō edition of the canon as T 282), continues to match the content of T 281, opening this section with a question by the bodhisattva Jñānaśrī, who had been introduced previously in both T 280 (as Re'nashili 惹那師利) and T 281 (as Zhishou 智首) as the bodhisattva of the nadir. When Jñānaśrī asks Mañjuśrī about the conduct of the bodhisattva (§5), Mañjuśrī praises him for his question, saying that he will explain the actions of body, speech and mind that enable a bodhisattva to attain good qualities, the implication being that this will enable them, in turn, to eventually attain a buddha-field (§6a). He then gives Jñānaśrī an extended list of prescriptions for how a bodhisattva should practice, describing the good wishes they should direct toward living beings while engaging in a wide range of activities. Of these wishes eleven are to be performed by the householder-bodhisattva (§6b), while the vast majority (well over a hundred in each of the two

16 It is perhaps appropriate, given the emphasis on diversity in this passage, that the list of names given in T 280 does not agree at all with the one found in T 281. For a discussion of the epithets found in Zhi Qian's list, see Shi 2000: 43 and Nattier 2003b: 234–235.

17 This is somewhat unusual; more commonly Buddhas emit light from the head (as is indeed the case in the "upgraded" echo of this opening scene that occurs at the beginning of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*). The motif of emitting light from the bottom of the foot does occur elsewhere, however; see for example Lokakṣema's translation of the *Ajātaśatru-sūtra* (T 626: 15.393c10). In the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* the same event occurs, but it is followed by the emission of light from other parts of the body (including the head) as well; see the Chinese translations by Dharmarakṣa (8.147b14–15), Mokṣala (8.1b10), and Kumārajīva (8.217b12), as well as the Sanskrit (Dutt ed., p. 6, lines 2–10). (I would like to thank Stefano Zacchetti for calling my attention to the occurence of this motif in the *Pañcaviṃśati*.)

18 It is interesting that there is no mention of the hells (or for that matter, of the lower realms) in this display.

recensions) are to be carried out after the bodhisattva has left home to become a monk (§6c).

The text then states that in this Sahā world-system, hundreds of *koṭi*s of Śakra-lords (*Śakra-devānām indra*)[19] will create seven-jeweled lion seats for the Buddha. Knowing their thoughts, the Buddha again divides his body in order to manifest himself in each place. The Śakras, in turn, rejoice at the sight (§7a).

At this point another group of bodhisattvas arrives from the buddha-fields of the ten directions (§7b). One of these, Dharmamati (T 282 Tanmeimoti 曇昧摩提, T 281 Fayi 法意), will be the primary speaker in the following section.

When these newly arrived bodhisattvas have assembled Dharmamati goes into a state of *samādhi* (§8a), during which the Buddhas of the ten directions pat him on the head and congratulate him (§9a).[20] Saying that they will teach him about the ten stages of the bodhisattva path, they ask him to pass this information on to others (§9a).

Emerging from *samādhi*, Dharmamati recounts the names of the ten bodhisattva stages (§9b), then provides details concerning the practices appropriate to each (§9b–l). Having done so, he has carried out his assignment, and the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* ends (§10).

The Smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka*: Major Themes

Now that it is clear that the *Dousha jing* group and the *Pusa benye jing* are not excerpts from some version of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, but are translations of an Indian scripture that circulated on its own, we are in a position to ask new questions about its content. How, we may ask, did its authors view the role of the bodhisattva, and how did they envision the universe in which they lived? What kinds of practices were important to them, and how did they understand the meaning of the "Mahāyāna"? In the following discussion I will attempt to sketch the outlines of several themes that now appear, when we read the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* on its own, to have been among the major concerns of its authors.

Buddhas of the Ten Directions

The smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* envisions a vast and symmetrical universe, with buddha-fields located throughout the ten directions. It provides the names of these fields (in transcription in T 280, in translation in T 281), as well as the name of the

19 There should, of course, be only one such figure per world-system (though he can have countless minor gods as his attendants).

20 Considerable additional detail is provided in T 280 (§8b–c).

presiding Buddha in each. The text also gives the name of one bodhisattva from each world-system, an issue to which we will return below.

In tabular form (with the transcriptions from T 280 given first, followed by the translations from T 281) they are the following:

	Buddha	Bodhisattva	Buddha-field
E:	阿逝墮/入精進	文殊師利/敬首	訖連桓[21] / 香林
S:	阿泥羅墮羅 /不捨樂	佛陀師利/覺首	樓耆洹/ 樂林
W:	阿斯墮陀 / 習精進	羅鄰師利 /寶首	波頭洹 /華林
N:	阿闍墮 /行精進	檀那師利 /慧首	占倍洹 /道林
NE:	阿輪那墮國陀/悲精進	群那師利 /德首	優彼洹 /青蓮
SE:	阿旃陀墮陀 /盡精進	那涅羅師利 /目首	犍闍洹 /金林
SW:	鬱沈墮大 /上精進	惟闍師利 /明首	羅憐洹 /寶林
NW:	阿波羅墮 /一乘度	曇摩師利 /法首	活逸洹 /金剛
Nadir:	楓摩墮羅 /梵精進	惹那師利 /智首	潘利洹 /水精
Zenith:	墮色 /至精進	那軷陀師利 /賢首	價提捨洹 /欲林

The underlying Indian referents of many of these names are not immediately apparent, but with the help of the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (as well as the readings found in certain Buddhist and Daoist texts composed in China that borrowed this list from Zhi Qian's *Pusa benye jing*; see Appendix 2), they can be reconstructed with some degree of confidence as follows:[22]

E:	Acalaveda	Mañjuśrī	Hiraṇyavarṇa
S:	Anelaveda	Buddhaśrī	Rucivarṇa
W:	Asitaveda	Ratnaśrī	Padmavarṇa
N:	Ācāraveda	Dhanaśrī	Campakavarṇa
NE:	Aruṇaveda	Guṇaśrī	Utpalavarṇa
SE:	Atyantaveda	Netraśrī	Kāñcanavarṇa

21 So in the Taishō edition (with no indication of any variant readings), but the relative unanimity of *huan* 洹 in the other names suggests that this may have been the original character here as well. There is, in any event, no difference in the Early Middle Chinese pronunciation of the two characters as reconstructed by Pulleyblank (1991: 130).

22 A discussion of the many thorny problems involved in these reconstructions is beyond the scope of the present paper; I hope to deal with these issues in detail in another venue. It is virtually certain that both Lokakṣema and Zhi Qian translated from Prakrit, not Sanskrit, originals, but for ease of recognition and consistency of reference I have given these reconstructions in Sanskrit here.

SW:	Uttamaveda	Vidyāśrī	Ratnavarṇa
NW:	Aparaveda	Dharmaśrī	Vajravarṇa
Nadir:	Brahmaveda	Jñānaśrī	Sphaṭikavarṇa
Zenith:	Viviktaveda	Bhadraśrī	Sadṛśavarṇa

Two things are immediately evident about this list. First is the sweeping symmetry of this vision of the universe: all of the Buddhas have names ending in *-veda*,[23] while all of the bodhisattva-names end in *-śrī*.[24] The names of the buddha-fields are likewise parallel, with each one ending in *-varṇa*.[25] What is found in each of the ten directions, in other words, is paralleled in the other nine.[26]

Second is the relative obscurity – viewed from the perspective of the Mahāyāna scriptures that were to become most popular in East Asia – of virtually all of these names. In the western direction we do not find Amitābha (or Amitāyus), but a Buddha called Asitaveda, while in the east it is not Akṣobhya but Acalaveda who appears. Nor are the bodhisattvas mentioned here the ones we might expect. In the East one might expect to meet the bodhisattva Gandhahastin, for example, who appears in the *Akṣobhyavyūha* as the resident Buddha's designated successor; in the West one might expect to find Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, who appear in the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* in the same role.[27] Instead, the bodhisattva of the western direction is named Ratnaśrī, while in the east we find a well-known figure who also serves as a major interlocutor in the text, the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.[28] Even the bodhi-

23 Zhi Qian appears to have read (or heard) some form of *vīrya* rather than *veda*; I have chosen the latter on the basis of the readings that are found in some of Lokakṣema's transcriptions of these names, as well as their renditions in the corresponding passages in the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. In a form of parallelism that is typical of his work, he has rendered each of these names in three-character form. As a result, the presumed ending of *vīrya* (Ch. *jingjin* 精進) has been suppressed in two cases where the first part of the name required three characters in itself.

24 Zhi Qian's translation of *-śrī* "glory" as *shou* 首 "head, foremost" reflects a confusion between a Prakrit form of *śrī* and *śiras* "head"; see Karashima 1992: 27 and 266.

25 Zhi Qian, whose buddha-field names end in *-lin* 林 "grove", presumably read (or heard) *vana* "woods" rather than *varṇa* "color", or perhaps better in this context "appearance". (As in the case of the names of the Buddhas, he has occasionally suppressed this final component in order to render each name in parallel fashion, in this case using two characters.) It is possible, in fact, that this was the original reading, though the later Chinese and Tibetan versions all reflect an underlying *varṇa*. Lokakṣema's transcriptions cannot definitively resolve the question here.

26 Not all Buddhist scriptures that postulate the presence of Buddhas in all directions portray them in such symmetrical fashion. For a discussion of texts that do not display this symmetry (either in the form of the names or in the number of Buddhas placed in each direction) see Mitomo 1988.

27 On this issue see Nattier 2003c: 191.

28 It is noteworthy that in at least one other source (the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*) we are told that Mañjuśrī had previously inhabited a buddha-field in the eastern direction, but there the buddha-field in question is that of the Buddha Akṣobhya.

sattva Samantabhadra and the Buddha Vairocana, who would subsequently play major roles in Huayan thought, are not included in this list.[29]

Whether the authors of this scripture were unfamiliar with all of these figures or whether they knew of them but chose not to mention them, we cannot say. What we can say, though, is that the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* was the product of a community that not only knew of, but revered, Mañjuśrī.

Bodhisattva Practice in Everyday Life

A noteworthy feature of the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* – and one of the elements that is still a living part of East Asian Buddhist practice today[30] – is its detailed prescription for the thoughts that a bodhisattva should bring forth while carrying out ordinary daily activities. All of these thoughts are directed toward the welfare of others, and though well over one hundred such thoughts are described in each of the versions of this smaller *sūtra*, the format of all of them is the same: "When the bodhisattva is [carrying out a certain activity], he should wish that all living beings [will attain a certain benefit]." These activities range from the impure (enjoying himself in the harem, going to the toilet) to the sublime (being filial to his parents, putting on the monastic robe for the first time), underscoring the fact that, for the authors of this text, the bodhisattva path could be cultivated in the context of virtually every activity.[31]

These wishes have often been described in secondary literature as "vows" – that is, as promises made by the bodhisattva to accomplish certain things – and when reading only the Chinese translations of the text it is easy to see why this should be the case. Zhi Qian's rendition of these passages (subsequently adopted by both Buddhabhadra and Śikṣānanda) employs the character *yuan* 願, which would later become a technical term in Chinese Buddhism for the vows of a bodhisattva. For example, the sixth wish (to be performed while the bodhisattva is still living at home) reads as follows:

> When putting on a jeweled necklace, [the bodhisattva] should wish that all living beings will be released from their heavy burden and from the various ornate and desirable things.

29 The name of Vairocana may appear in transcription in Lokakṣema's version as one of the epithets of Śākyamuni (Huilouyan 墮樓延; see T 280: 10.446a9 and cf. Coblin 1983: 249, #183). There is no term that can be correlated with it in Zhi Qian's version, however, and it is difficult to be certain that this restoration is correct. At any rate, the name never appears again in the *sūtra.*

30 SHI Chikai: personal communication, 2000 (based on her experiences as a Buddhist nun in Taiwan).

31 There are, however, no references to thoughts that the bodhisattva should have while actually violating the precepts against killing, stealing, lying, and so on. (In light of this absence it is probably significant that the text does not hesitate to recommend thoughts to be cultivated while indulging in sexual activity.)

著寶瓔珞當願衆生解去重擔諸綺可意[32]

This might seem, at first glance, to say that the bodhisattva is vowing to cause others to attain release – and, at the same time, to get rid of their jewelry! In other translations by Zhi Qian, however, the term *yuan* 願 is often used in its more basic meaning of "wish" or even "desire."[33] We should not jump to the conclusion, therefore, that this passage is referring to bodhisattva vows in the technical sense.

If we turn to Lokakṣema's translation for comparison, the corresponding passage reads as follows:

> When putting on the seven jewels, [the bodhisattva] should think to himself: "May all people below heaven in the ten directions be released from their heavy burden and attain rest".
>
> 菩薩著七寶時心念言十方天下人皆使脫於重擔去悉得止休息[34]

This rendition might seem, at first glance, to mean "[I] will cause all people under heaven in the ten directions to be released." There is no first-person pronoun, however, and Lokakṣema does not shrink from using such pronouns elsewhere in his work. In fact, what we seem to have here is a construction of a quite different kind: the use of the word *shi* 使 to express the speaker's wish or hope that a certain situation may come about, as recently documented by KARASHIMA Seishi.[35]

The Tibetan confirms this interpretation, for here the grammar makes it clear that the bodhisattva is merely wishing, and not vowing, that these good results will come about. The Tibetan reads as follows:

> When adorning himself with jewels, the bodhisattva should think: "May all beings put down their burden by crossing over from the fearful cycle of becoming."
>
> *rgyan-gyis brgyan-pa'i tshe byang-chub sems-dpa' sems-can thams-cad srid-par 'byung-ba 'jigs-pa'i pha-rol-tu phyin-pas khur bor-bar gyur-cig ces sems bskyed-de*[36]

32 T 281: 10.447c1–2.

33 See in particular the *Siyuan jing* 四願經 (T 735), in which the four items in question are clearly wishes, not vows. The same usage can be seen in T 511 (*Pingsha wang wuyuan jing* 蓱沙王五願經, *The Sūtra on the Five Wishes of Bimbisāra*), a text which may also be the work of Zhi Qian (cf. Nattier 2003b: 241).

34 T 282: 10.451b29–c2.

35 Karashima 1999: 143, n.43. Karashima's discussion is particularly relevant here in that it takes as its point of departure the version of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (*Amituo sanyesanfo saloufotan guodu ren dao jing* 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過渡人道經, T 362) now considered to have been produced by Lokakṣema. Other examples of this usage can also be found in Lokakṣema's texts; see for example his version of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (*Daoxing banruo jing* 道行般若經 T 224), where the bodhisattva Sadāprarudita, offered a boon by the god Śakra, says "May my body be returned to its former condition" (*shi wo shenti ping fu ru gu* 使我身體平復如故 [8.472c20]); cf. Skt. *tena devendra satyena satyavacanena mama yathā paurāṇo 'yam ātmabhāvo bhavatu* (Vaidya ed., p. 248, lines 12–13). I would like to thank KARASHIMA Seishi for bringing the passage in the *Aṣṭa* to my attention.

36 Ōtani vol. 25, 94.2.6–7. In this instance the Ōtani (Peking) version reads *gyur-gcig*, but in most cases the correct form in *-cig* is used.

In sum, we may conclude that the underlying Indian text phrased these thoughts in optative form – that is, as wishes for the welfare of all beings – and not as vows (which are often expressed in the simple future tense and/or accompanied by a "sanction clause" specifying the penalty to be imposed if the bodhisattva fails to carry out his promise).[37] Given the ambiguity of these Chinese translations, however, it is not surprising that later generations of readers would sometimes have interpreted them as "vows." Such a reading is explicit, I believe, in two apocryphal texts that borrowed material from these passages: the Buddhist *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經 and the Daoist Lingbao 靈寶 scriptures.[38]

In a *sūtra* that is noteworthy for its emphasis on symmetry, the section recounting the bodhisattva's good wishes toward others is quite asymmetrical. As mentioned above, only a few reflections (eleven in each of the two translations) for the lay bodhisattva are offered, while the overwhelming majority (well over a hundred) are offered for his monastic counterpart. The bulk of the discussion here, in other words, is devoted to practices to be performed by the bodhisattva after he has been ordained as a monk.[39]

An additional asymmetry in this section can be identified as well. In the brief section dealing with reflections to be practiced by the layman the benefits to others named in the bodhisattva's reflections are generally the opposite of the activity in which he himself is engaged. When interacting with his family, for example, he should wish that others will be released from the bonds of affection; when visiting his wife's bedroom, enjoying the performances of singing girls, or diverting himself with the women of his harem (*cainü* 婇女), he should wish that others will be freed from sensual desire. And when putting on his jewelry – as seen in the example given above – the bodhisattva should wish not that others will enjoy the same luxury that he does, but that they will "put down the heavy burden" (an expression usually used to refer to final liberation, involving release from the five *skandha*s) and, in Zhi Qian's version, be freed from such pleasant (if frivolous) things!

The benefits envisioned by the monastic bodhisattva, by contrast, are positively correlated by analogy to his own activities. When he goes out the door, for example, the monk should wish that all living beings will succeed in getting out of the triple world; when he turns toward the road, he should wish that all beings will turn toward the unsurpassed Dharma. When he sees a thorny tree, he should wish that all beings will succeed in eliminating the three poisons of passion, aversion, and delu-

37 For examples of this standard format for vows, see Kagawa 1989; a discussion in English (with some additional examples) can be found in Nattier 2003a: 147–151.

38 On these and other indigenous Chinese compositions that borrowed material from the translations of the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* by Lokakṣema or Zhi Qian see Appendix 2 below.

39 In its assumption that the bodhisattva path may begin while one is still a householder, but proceeds necessarily toward ordination as a monk, the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* resembles many other Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, notably the *Ugraparipṛcchā*; see Nattier 2003a, especially pp. 121–127.

sion;[40] when he sees a tree that is flowering, he should wish that all beings will become equipped with the thirty-two major and the (eighty) minor marks.[41] In sum, implicit throughout this discussion is the idea that the life of the layman is pervaded by activities that are contrary to the Dharma, while the life of the monk is easily harmonized with its practice.

The sheer number of these wishes provides us with a wealth of detail concerning how the authors of the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* envisioned the lay bodhisattva and his monastic counterpart. The lay bodhisattva is clearly male, for a number of the activities described involve his relations with women; there is not a word, by contrast, about a female bodhisattva interacting with her husband, dealing with her servants, or arranging a meeting with a male paramour.[42] Moreover, the lay bodhisattva described here is clearly a man of some substance; not only does he have a wife and children, a house, and fine jewelry, but he has access to other (surely not inexpensive) pleasures as well. There is no discussion, by contrast, of thoughts to be brought forth in situations that a bodhisattva of lower status might experience – while toiling in the fields, for example, or being conscripted into the army, or being beaten by his master. The bodhisattva envisioned in this *sūtra*, in sum, is a figure familiar from many other Mahāyāna texts: a male belonging to a wealthy and privileged class.

In its discussion of practices for the renunciant bodhisattva the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* provides numerous details that reveal the authors' understanding of the monastic life. There are reflections to be performed when the bodhisattva abandons the household life, enters the monastery (T 281 *fo zongmiao* 佛宗廟, T 282 *fo si* 佛寺),[43] cuts off his hair and beard, observes the monastic rules, and is assigned an *upādhyāya* (*heshang* 和上) and an *ācārya* (*shi* 師).[44] He is also described as taking refuge in the three jewels and sitting in meditation, focusing on his breathing (in Zhi Qian's version, "counting his breaths" *shuxi* 數息) and controlling his thoughts (T 281 *shouyi* 守意, T 282 *huinianguan* 佪念觀). There are reflections to perform when putting on each of the three monastic robes and when going on his begging rounds, with different reflections to be employed depending on whether he receives delicious food, unappealing food, or no food at all. In sum, the life of the monastic bodhisattva is portrayed in quite traditional terms.

40 This analogy may be less than transparent to modern readers, but the three poisons are commonly described as "thorns" or "arrows" (Skt. *sara*, Pāli *salla*) in early Buddhist literature. PTSD 699a.

41 These examples are drawn from the *Pusa benye jing*; virtually all of the items found there have a general counterpart in the *Dousha jing* (i.e., in T 283), but the specifics are sometimes different.

42 This is typical of Mahāyāna scriptures translated into Chinese during this period; see Harrison 1987 and Nattier 2003a, especially pp. 96–100.

43 It has been suggested that the term *miao* 廟 used by Zhi Qian in this passage refers to a *stūpa*, not to a monastery, but this can easily be refuted; see Sasaki 1995: 51 and 1997: 104–105 and Nattier 2003a: 89–93.

44 T 281 reads *daxiaoshi* 大小師 (10.447c24), an expression that does not appear elsewhere in Buddhist translation literature of this period.

More mundane activities are described as well. There are thoughts to be cultivated when the bodhisattva goes uphill or downhill, goes along a straight or a winding road, opens or closes a gate, sees a mountain, or stops to cool off under a tree. There are also reflections coordinated with various acts of personal hygiene, including washing his face, brushing his teeth, and urinating or defecating. For virtually every moment of the day, in sum, the text prescribes a specific good wish that the monastic bodhisattva should generate toward others.

In addition to its portrayal of lay and monastic bodhisattvas,[45] this portion of the *sūtra* also provides valuable information on its authors' understanding of the nature of the Mahāyāna. By wishing that all beings will attain the thirty-two marks – a reflection that occurs more than once in each version of the text – the bodhisattva is, of course, wishing that they will attain Buddhahood rather than Arhatship. Likewise he is told to wish for all beings to attain the four fearlessnesses, the ten powers, and the Buddha's eighteen special qualities (all items which belong only to Buddhas). He also wishes that all beings will put on the armor (i.e., the armor of the bodhisattva's vow to attain Buddhahood), be intent on the Great Way (*dadao* 大道, i.e., the Mahāyāna), and quickly attain Buddhahood. It is beyond question, therefore, that the authors of the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* were enthusiastic advocates of the bodhisattva path and that they sought to recommend it to all.

While an equivalent of the term "Mahāyāna" occurs several times in these *sūtra*s (six times in the *Dousha jing* group and three in the *Pusa benye jing*), no term that could be construed as a translation of "Hīnayāna" occurs at all.[46] Nor do we see any explicit critique of those who are not practicing the bodhisattva path. Indeed, the idea that the role of a Buddha is to help others become Arhats seems still to be present (e.g., in T 281 at 10.448c4, where the bodhisattva is told to wish that all beings become Buddhas and then develop a *saṃgha* of *śrāvaka*s, 當願眾生功滿得佛成弟子眾).

The smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* thus speaks in general terms of "all beings" entering the Mahāyāna, but it does not criticize those who do not. Indeed, it is not clear whether its authors even considered it possible for all beings to become bodhisattvas in this life; the text never suggests, for example, that women might embark on the bodhisattva path.[47] Thus while the perspective articulated in this text could be de-

45 These should not, of course, be considered straightforward descriptions of living members of the Buddhist community of the authors' time. For a discussion of a methodological problems involved in extracting historical information from an avowedly prescriptive source see Nattier 2003a: 63–69.

46 To the best of my knowledge the sole term used to translate *hīnayāna* in this period is *xiaodao* 小道 ("small way"); other expressions, such as *xiaosheng* 小乘 "small vehicle" and *liesheng* 劣乘 "low vehicle", appear only later.

47 The sole reference to "gentlemen and ladies" (*zuxingzi zuxingnü* 族姓子族姓女, Skt. *kulaputra* and *kuladuhitṛ*) in the *Pusa benye jing* (10.447b19) is unsupported by any other statement in the text, and it has no counterpart in the *Dousha jing* group.

scribed as being en route toward a stance of "bodhisattva universalism," it has not yet fully entered that camp.[48]

Stages of the Bodhisattva Path

One of the best-known features of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is its list of the ten stages of the bodhisattva path. The larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* in fact contains not one but two such lists: one found in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* (preserved in Sanskrit as well as in Chinese and Tibetan) and another in a part of the larger *sūtra* that has a parallel in the smaller version.[49] The names of the stages in the latter list also appear in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, though without a detailed discussion of their associated practices. Because a version of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* has survived in Sanskrit, however, we have access to one Indic-language version of these names.

The smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* contains just one list of stages, though they are described here in considerable detail. As in the preceding section of the *sūtra*, the discourse on this topic is given not by a Buddha, but by a bodhisattva, and the text makes no pretense of claiming that these teachings were received from Śākyamuni Buddha himself. On the contrary, it states explicitly that the bodhisattva in question, Dharmamati, received these teachings from the Buddhas of the ten directions while he was absorbed in *samādhi*.

The ten stages of the bodhisattva path enumerated by Dharmamati (with the Sanskrit names found in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* given for comparison) are the following:

	Lokakṣema (T 283)	**Zhi Qian (T 281)**	***Gaṇḍavyūha***[50]
1	波藍耆兜波	發意	prathamacittotpādika
2	阿闍浮	治地	ādikarmika
3	渝阿闍	應行	yogācāra
4	闍摩期	生貴	janmaja
5	波渝三般	修成	pūrvayogasaṃpanna
6	阿耆三般	行等	śuddhādhyāśaya
7	阿惟越致	不退	avivartya
8	鳩摩羅浮童男	童真	kumārabhūta

48 For a discussion of the two types of bodhisattva universalism – a "weak form," which states that all people should become bodhisattvas and criticizes those who do not, and a "strong form," which claims that all people *are* on the bodhisattva path to Buddhahood, whether they realize it or not – see Nattier 2003a: 174–176.

49 A convenient (if by now somewhat dated) English summary of these and other *bhūmi* systems can be found in Hirakawa 1963: 65–69.

50 Vaidya ed., p. 84, lines 19–28.

9	渝羅闍	了生	yauvarājya[51]
10	阿惟顏	補處	abhiṣekaprāpta

There are numerous thorny problems in establishing the Indic antecedents for these Chinese transcriptions and translations, and it is clear that the renditions given by Lokakṣema and Zhi Qian (and indeed, in the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*) do not always match the Sanskrit terms given in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. We need not examine these in detail, however, here. For our purposes it is most important to note the orderly progression from the initial inspiration to become a bodhisattva (*prathamacittotpāda*) to receiving consecration (*abhiṣeka*) as the Buddha's rightful heir. Indeed, one of the most distinctive features of the system found in the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is that its last three stages have explicitly royal symbolism. From the eighth stage, where the bodhisattva becomes a *kumārabhūta* (a term which means "prince" as well as simply "young man"), to the ninth stage of "crown prince" or "heir apparent" (*yuvarāja*) to the tenth stage of being consecrated (*abhiṣikta*) as the next king, the terms used for these levels all resonate with the symbolism of a young man succeeding his father on the throne.

In this respect it may be significant that an earlier part of the *sūtra* (§2a–j) lists only one bodhisattva for each of the ten directions. Each of these, to be sure, was accompanied by a large assembly of other bodhisattvas as they traveled to the *Sahā* world of Śākyamuni, yet these lesser bodhisattvas are never named. Might it be that the idea of linear succession is informing the narrative here as well?

In this regard we should also take note of the fact that, although this scripture is famous for its portrayal of manifold Buddhas throughout the ten directions, only one Buddha is mentioned in each of these directions. When larger numbers of Buddhas seem to appear – as, for example, when each of the Śakras in the Sahā world sees Sākyamuni Buddha appear directly before him (§7a) – the *sūtra* portrays these not as "real" Buddhas but only as emanations. For the authors of the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, then, the universe is filled with Buddhas, yet this is still true in a somewhat restricted sense: only one Buddha resides in each of the ten directions, though other buddha-forms (that is, emanations) can also be made to appear. This vision of a universe with other Buddhas existing in the present thus coexists quite harmoniously, at least for the authors of this scripture, with the traditional idea that only one Buddha can appear in any given world at a time.

As to the ten stages of the bodhisattva path, the version found in the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* was clearly known to the authors of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (where a nearly identical list of names appears), but the latter work does not discuss their content in detail. In the *Pusa benye jing* and the *Dousha jing* group, by contrast – that is, in the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* – practices associated with each stage are set forth. More

51 The full title, in the Sanskrit text, is *mahādharmayauvarājyābhiṣikta*.

specifically, for each stage Dharmamati enumerates two sets of ten practices to be carried out by the bodhisattva as he progresses on the path.

For those familiar with the system found in the *Daśabhūmika*, what is most striking about the description of the ten stages in the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is the utter absence of the *pāramitā*s. The *Daśabhūmika*, as is well known, associates one *pāramitā* with each of the bodhisattva stages, expanding the list of perfections to ten in the process.[52] In the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka*'s discussion of the stages, however, the word *pāramitā* does not even appear. The word appears twice (translated as *duwuji* 度無極 "crossing to the limitless") in Zhi Qian's *Pusa benye jing* and three times (transcribed, in what would subsequently become the standard form in Buddhist Chinese, as *boluomi* 波羅蜜) in the *Dousha jing* group (all of the occurrences are in T 282). Yet in neither recension are the six items even listed, let alone discussed in detail. In T 281, cultivating "the various *pāramitā*s" (no specific number is given) appears in a list of bodhisattva practices mentioned by the Jñānaśrī,[53] while one of the many wishes for living beings recommended by Mañjuśrī is that they may attain the tactical skill associated with the path (*de daofangbian* 得道方便) as well as *prajñāpāramitā* (*hui duwuji* 慧度無極).[54] Lokakṣema's version also contains a wish that living beings may enter the *prajñāpāramitā*, but here it seems to be considered a text (*xi ru banruo boluomi jing zhong* 悉入般若波羅蜜經中).[55] Where Zhi Qian refers only to the various *pāramitā*s, the parallel in Lokakṣema's work refers to six (*ru yu liu boluomi jing zhong* 入於六波羅蜜經中).[56] Elsewhere a third use of the term occurs in Lokakṣema's version, this time explicitly referring to *upāyakauśalya* (*ouhejusheluo* 漚和拘舍羅) as a *pāramitā*.[57]

In sum, the treatment of the stages in the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is completely unrelated to the system of *pāramitā*s, focusing instead on bodhisattva practices of other kinds. The authors of the *sūtra* (or at least, those responsible for the composition of the middle portion of the text dealing with the bodhisattva's good wishes for others) seem to be aware of the existence of some system of *pāramitā*s,[58] but that is clearly not a major inspiration here.

52 The list of the ten *parami*s found in certain late Pāli scriptures is significantly different and cannot be viewed as directly related to the *Daśabhūmika* list. I strongly suspect, however, that the fact that the Pāli list consists of ten (and not six) perfections reflects the late date of its composition, dating from a period in which texts like the *Daśabhūmika* were already in circulation. In other words, it seems likely that the Pāli list is a (deliberately different) imitation of the *Daśabhūmika* list rather than that the two share a common ancestry.

53 10.447b11.

54 447c21.

55 453b18.

56 451b2.

57 451c24–25.

58 Only Lokakṣema's version specifies that there are six. Since no list is ever given, it is not clear – especially since *upāyakauśalya* seems to be considered a *pāramitā* in Lokakṣema's text – whether the "standard" list of six items is meant. Non-standard lists of *pāramitā*s occur in a

Dharmamati first provides the names of all ten of the stages, then describes the specific practices (grouped into two sets of ten items) associated with each. Though the *pāramitā*s are absent from the discussion, many other practices listed here are quite familiar. The bodhisattva is instructed, for example, to practice loving-kindness (*maitrī*) toward others and to view all things as characterized by impermanence, suffering, and absence of self (the well-known "three marks" of *anitya*, *duḥkha*, and *anātman*) plus a fourth item, emptiness (*śūnyatā*), which is often added to this list.[59] He should review the four great elements (earth, water, fire, and wind) and the three levels of the triple world (*kāmadhātu*, *rūpadhātu*, *arūpadhātu*). He should cultivate equanimity when he hears that the Buddha and his Dharma are praised or blamed or that the Dharma is declining or not. He should become perfectly pure in the deeds of body, speech, and mind and increasingly skilled in the bases of paranormal power (*ṛddhipāda*). As he reaches an advanced level in his practice, he gains the ability to know what others are thinking, as well as where and how they spent their previous lives.

None of this would be out of place in a non-Mahāyāna scripture, and most of these items could easily be used to describe an advanced candidate for Arhatship. Yet there are other practices recommended here that make it clear that we have entered another world. The path begins when the future bodhisattva, entering the first stage (*prathamacittotpādika*), sees the Buddha and is impressed by his physical beauty, his impressive deportment, and his teachings. This is reminiscent of what we find in the widely circulated Dīpaṃkara *jātaka*, yet the *sūtra* immediately takes the idea of "seeing the Buddha" to a further level. The first-stage bodhisattva, we are told, will not only make offerings to the Buddhas (Lokakṣema's version adds "and bodhisattvas"), but will be able to see all the Buddhas and will attain a variety of *samādhi*s. Thus the idea of being able to perceive the Buddhas of the ten directions – an experience made possible by the Buddha at the outset of the *sūtra*, and experienced in the following section by Dharmamati while in meditation – appears as a part of the bodhisattva's training from the very beginning.

The second stage (*ādikarmika*) begins with cultivating positive thoughts toward others: thinking of their welfare, purifying and softening their hearts, and practicing loving-kindness (*maitrī*) toward all. The bodhisattva is also told to practice seeing others as himself, as well as viewing all beings as the Buddha. The second set of ten practices[60] associated with this stage is devoted to Dharma-study, and the bodhi-

number of early Chinese *sūtra* translations (e.g., in Zhi Qian's *Vimalakīrti* [T 474: 14.519a16–17, 521a2–4, and 521b17–21] and his version of the larger *Sukhāvativyūha* [T 361: 12.280b19–20]), so we should not automatically assume that what was to become the standard list is meant.

59 The text does not make the standard scholastic distinction between conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) dharmas, which are characterized by all three of the traditional marks, and the unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*) which is characterized only by the mark of no-self.

60 I will not enumerate all twenty of the practices associated with each stage, but will simply summarize them throughout this discussion.

sattva is instructed to first study the scriptures, then leave home (Lokakṣema "dwell alone," Zhi Qian "go far from his native place") and apprentice himself to a good teacher. He should then devote himself to energetic study and should retain all that he has learned.

On the third stage (*yogācāra*) the bodhisattva trains himself to become detached from all the elements of his experience, seeing them as impermanent, painful, devoid of self, and so on. It is also at this stage that he reviews the four great elements and the three levels of the triple world, after being mindful of living beings, the Dharma, and buddha-fields.

Thus far the bodhisattva's practice has been carried out in what we might call constructive terms – that is, cultivating positive actions with respect to the Buddhas (making offerings to them and viewing them in meditation) and correct thoughts toward living beings and the elements of one's experience, without questioning the reality of any of them. Entering the fourth stage (**janmajyeṣṭha*?), however, the deconstructive language (or perhaps better, a "rhetoric of negation") that is so familiar from certain other Mahāyāna *sūtra*s begins to appear. Now the bodhisattva is told to view all of these items – including living beings and the buddha-fields where they dwell – as empty, illusory, and (in Lokakṣema's version) non-existent (*wusuoyou* 無所有). The second set of practices takes this approach even further, applying the concept of emptiness to past, present and future Buddhas (or, according to Zhi Qian, "buddha-mind" *foyi* 佛意). At this stage, in other words, the ontological status of the very items that have served as the focus of the bodhisattva's self-cultivation is being challenged.

At the fifth stage (**prayogasaṃpanna*) the text resumes its positive language, for here the bodhisattva is urged to protect and benefit sentient beings and to cause them to attain *nirvāṇa*. In the second set of ten, however, the rhetoric of negation returns, for the bodhisattva should reflect that all the beings of the ten directions are entirely empty.

In the sixth stage (**adhyāśayasaṃpanna*) the bodhisattva begins by cultivating equanimity, remaining undisturbed whether the Buddha and his Dharma are praised or blamed, whether he hears that the Dharma is declining or not, and whether he hears that living beings (whom he should teach) and Buddhist scriptures (which he should learn) are many or few. The second set instructs him to view various items as being empty, illusory, and so on, clearly in an attempt to undermine the bodhisattva's attachment to anything at all.[61]

It is well known that in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* the bodhisattva is said to become incapable of retrogression when he reaches the eighth stage. In the smaller *Buddhā-*

61 This is one of the places where it is clear that Zhi Qian and Lokakṣema were working from quite different recensions. In Lokakṣema's text the discussion concerns "all dharmas"; Zhi Qian's version, by contrast, does not mention "all dharmas", but begins by saying that the bodhisattva does not conceptualize and does not think in terms of a self or what belongs to the self.

vataṃsaka, however, this takes place at the seventh (*avaivartika*). The discussion of this level begins by recapitulating the first set of practices for the sixth stage, now rephrasing them in terms of "not turning back": whether the Buddha, the Dharma, bodhisattvas (and so on) are available or not, the bodhisattva will not turn back from his goal. The second set turns to the relationship between the one and the many: the bodhisattva becomes adept at moving back and forth between a single dharma (Lokakṣema "a single wisdom" *yihui* 一慧) and many, between seeing a multitude of living beings and seeing nothing but emptiness, and between the diversity of conceptual thought and the one-pointedness of meditation.

At the eighth stage the bodhisattva becomes a prince (*kumārabhūta*), a term which in other texts often serves as an epithet of Mañjuśrī.[62] It is here that he achieves complete purity in the actions of body, speech and mind, as well as acquiring the ability to read the minds of others. Now he views living beings exclusively with loving-kindness (*maitrī*),[63] and he cultivates the bases of paranormal power (*shenzu* 神足). In the second set of practices the bodhisattva focuses at first on the various buddha-fields, acquiring the ability not only to see them but to travel freely from one to another. He also prepares himself to teach as a Buddha does by studying the Buddha's voice.[64]

At the ninth stage the bodhisattva becomes a crown prince (*yuvarāja*), standing on the threshold of his coronation as Dharma-king. At this stage he is not only able to know what other people are thinking, but he perceives all of their good and bad actions, their past lives, and where they will be reborn. He also knows the good and bad features (i.e., the purity and impurity) of the various buddha-fields throughout the ten directions. In the second set of practices appropriate to this stage he is said to carefully study the conduct of a Dharma-king (i.e., a Buddha), whose activities he will soon be called upon to emulate.[65]

In the tenth and final stage, the bodhisattva is "consecrated" (**abhiṣikta*, translated by Zhi Qian as "appointed to the place," *buchu* 補處)[66] and carries out his final preparations for buddhahood. Among the abilities acquired at this stage are the power to move and to illuminate countless buddha-fields (and to stop them from

62 It is probably significant that the only *bhūmi* system in which *kumārabhūta* appears as the name of one of the stages appears in a scripture that prominently features Mañjuśrī.

63 As in many relatively early Mahāyāna scriptures, the first of the four *brahmavihāra*s, i.e., *maitrī* "loving-kindness," is far more prominent than the second (*karuṇā*). Cf. Nattier 2003a: 146.

64 Lokakṣema 當學佛音聲響, Zhi Qian 學佛聲出諸法.

65 Lokakṣema and Zhi Qian differ noticeably in content here. For Zhi Qian, the bodhisattva studies the Dharma-king's deportment, his comings and goings, his awesome appearance, issuing of commands, and circulating through (inspecting? *xunxing* 巡行) his *buddhakṣetra*. Lokakṣema, on the other hand, repeatedly refers to studying the Buddha's palace (*sic*, *fogong* 佛宮). I suspect that there was some confusion concerning an underlying **rājabhavana* here.

66 This expression is of course used elsewhere (by Zhi Qian as well as by other translators) as part of the translation of *ekajātipratibaddha* as *yisheng bu chu* 一生補處, usually given in English as "bound to [just] one birth."

moving, according to Zhi Qian). He will also establish the Dharma in these fields, benefiting and pacifying the beings there. At this stage he finally acquires all the dharmas that constitute a Buddha and is ready to succeed to his place.[67]

Several things are noteworthy about this *sūtra*'s presentation of the bodhisattva stages. First, as noted above, it exhibits noteworthy continuity with non-Mahāyāna practices, such as the practice of *maitrī*, cultivating an awareness of the three marks, and being mindful of the four great elements. The basic stance of this *sūtra*, in other words, is not to reject earlier practices but to incorporate them into a larger scheme. Second is a distinctively Mahāyāna emphasis on the importance of seeing the many Buddhas – i.e., the Buddhas of the ten directions – coupled with the deliberate cultivation of visionary *samādhi*. Third, great emphasis is placed on the Buddha's physical beauty and his paranormal powers (two of the items that are said to inspire the beginning bodhisattva to undertake the first stage of the path). Fourth is the ever-present refrain of buddha-fields, which are mentioned repeatedly, both as an object of contemplation and as a destination for travel, throughout the text.

The bodhisattva path as understood in the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, in sum, involves seeing (and serving) a vast number of Buddhas in life after life, as one gradually acquires the qualities that will lead to becoming a Buddha oneself. It is an emphatically gradual path – there is no sudden enlightenment here, much less an inherent "buddha-nature" – but it is also a cosmic drama set in a universe filled with buddha-fields. The bodhisattva has earthly teachers, to be sure, but he is also a performer on a vast stage, observing and being observed by the Buddhas of the ten directions. The drama culminates, in its final stages, with his progression from prince to heir apparent to consecration as a king.

Symmetry and Soteriology: The Buddhas of the Ten Directions

The smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* features a number of spectacular appearances of multiple Buddhas. Śākyamuni, who has just attained awakening as the *sūtra* begins (§1a), reappears on two occasions to divide his body in order to manifest himself in multiple locales (§4d and §7a), and the Buddhas of the ten directions, who become visible at the beginning of the *sūtra* (§2a–j) reappear (to the bodhisattva Dharmamati, at any rate, who sees them in a vision) toward the latter part of the text (§§8a–9a). Yet very little is actually said by any of these Buddhas in the course of the narrative. By far the majority of the *sūtra* is spoken by two bodhisattvas: Mañjuśrī, who offers a long discourse on bodhisattva practices to be carried out in everyday life (§6a–c), and Dharmamati, who describes the ten stages of the bodhisattva path (§9b–l).

67 Several of the items contained in the second set of practices for the tenth stage in Zhi Qian's version occur in the first set in Lokakṣema's text, and vice versa, so I have not treated the two sets separately here.

The traditional idea that authoritative teachings should ultimately stem from a Buddha is still present, for when Mañjuśrī offers his long discussion of the bodhisattva path he is described as doing so "by the Buddha's power" (**buddhānubhāvena*), and Dharmamati states that he was taught the content of the ten stages by the Buddhas of the ten directions. Nonetheless the actual speaker, in both cases, is not a Buddha but a bodhisattva.

This may well reflect the actual circumstances of the composition of the text; it is entirely possible – indeed, it is virtually certain – that the new teachings presented here were first articulated by men who had embarked on the bodhisattva path long after the death of Śākyamuni. Yet to admit that the source of these new teachings was not Śākyamuni but one of his followers was an audacious step. In a particular community where a certain individual held a position of authority, to revere one of his discourses (known to be the words of a certain Subhūti, or Mañjuśrī, or Dharmamati) might be quite acceptable during his lifetime. In subsequent generations, however, the idea that an unknown bodhisattva could speak on his own authority could open the door to innovations by any and all members of the Buddhist community. One solution to this problem, therefore, was to "domesticate" texts that made their non-*buddhavacana* status too transparent by shifting the discourse into the mouth of the Buddha. Elsewhere I have discussed the process of "sūtrafication" – that is, the upgrading of a text that apparently began as a sermon by a well-known monk to the status of *buddhavacana*.[68] In the case of the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* we may be able to observe such a shift taking place not in India, but in China. In two apocryphal scriptures that borrowed virtually the entire discussion of the ten stages from Lokakṣema's T 283, the bodhisattva Dharmamati no longer appears. Now the speaker is Śākyamuni Buddha himself, portrayed as responding to a question posed by Mañjuśrī.[69]

Above we have noted that, while the *sūtra* devotes significant atttention to the motif of the "Buddhas of the ten directions," none of these figures is singled out for special attention. To put it another way, these Buddhas appear as a chorus and not as individuals, with no featured soloist among them. As a group, they convey important teachings to Dharmamati; yet the *sūtra* never speaks of the possibility of establishing a special relationship with any one of them. There is no exhortation to be mindful of a particular Buddha or to recite his name, nor is there even a single mention of the importance of aspiring to be born in a certain realm. Thus the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is not a "Pure Land" *sūtra*, if by this term we mean a text whose central focus is on a Buddha inhabiting another world and on the possibility of rebirth there.[70]

68 Nattier 2003a: 11–13, n.3.

69 See the discussion of T 284 and T 1487 in Appendix 2.

70 Elsewhere I have suggested that the *Akṣobhyavyūha* – though it deals with the world of Akṣobhya and not that of Amitābha – should in fact be included among "Pure Land" texts (Nattier 2000).

On the contrary, the existence of buddha-fields throughout the ten directions appears here more as a stage-setting for most Buddhist practitioners and as a source of visionary insight for a few.[71]

It could well be said, then, that the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is not a "Buddha-centered" scripture at all. Buddhahood is, of course, the envisioned destination of bodhisattva practice, and much of what is said by bodhisattvas in the text is explicitly described as having been delivered "by the Buddha's power." But virtually all of the teachings presented in the *sūtra* are given not by Buddhas, but by bodhisattvas themselves. One might say, without too much exaggeration, that the Buddhas of the ten directions are both inspirational and ornamental, but the authors' main concern is with the progress of the bodhisattva on his path.

As to the *sūtra*'s treatment of bodhisattvas themselves, we may provisionally divide these into two types: the bodhisattvas who actually appear in the *sūtra* (the narrative characters) and the bodhisattvas to whom the *sūtra* is addressed (the intended audience). The latter, as we have seen, theoretically includes all Buddhists, but the specifics of the text make it clear that the authors pictured the bodhisattva as a well-to-do male. Moreover, it is clearly assumed that, after leaving the home life, the bodhisattva will become a monk. Much of the imagery (including the stages of prince, heir apparent, and consecrated king) is distinctively male, and there is no indication that the authors thought of women (or for that matter, children or the denizens of other realms, such as *nāga*s, *yakṣa*s, and so on) as capable of pursuing the bodhisattva path.

In the case of the bodhisattvas who appear as narrative characters, it is noteworthy that none of them are from Śākyamuni's Sahā realm, but all have come from other worlds. Yet, despite their otherworldly origins and their clearly advanced level of spiritual development, these figures are not portrayed as "celestial bodhisattvas." That is, none of them is ever described as a powerful being to whom a devotee might turn for assistance in times of distress or recommended as the focus of a devotional cult. Whatever they – or at least Mañjuśrī – may have become for later believers, they are not yet portrayed as "celestial bodhisattvas" here.[72]

71 See Harrison 1978.

72 On this topic see Paul Harrison's important article "Mañjuśrī and the Cult of the Celestial Bodhisattvas" (Harrison 2000). Harrison argues that the use of the term "celestial bodhisattva" is misguided; more specifically, he points out that in Lokakṣema's translations devotion to bodhisattvas such as Mañjuśrī is nowhere recommended. The sole exception – and it may be an important one – is a brief passage in the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (T 362), which Harrison has argued is a revised version of a translation by Lokakṣema (or a member of his school) in which devotees are urged to take refuge in Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta when they find themselves in dire straits (p. 172, n. 24).

Concluding Reflections

The smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is a profoundly visual text. It opens with the illumination by Śākyamuni of the worlds of the ten directions, and bodhisattvas are encouraged to "see the Buddhas" in meditation by undertaking the practice of *samādhi*. But it is not only in such otherworldly visions that the primarily visual character of the text is made plain. The *sūtra* also states that new bodhisattvas are inspired to undertake their vocation after seeing the Buddha, an experience in which his physical beauty, including the color of his skin, plays a major role in inspiring the disciple to follow in his footsteps.

Most important for the subsequent history of those communities that accepted the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* as canonical may have been its validation of visionary experience as a source of new revelations. When Dharmamati emerges from *samādhi* with an account of the ten bodhisattva stages, the text makes no claim that these teachings have been passed down from Śākyamuni. On the contrary, the fact that Dharmamati received them from the Buddhas of the ten directions is deemed quite adequate as a source of authority. In a very real sense the frame of reference of this scripture has shifted from one of the six senses to another, with "thus have I seen" replacing the traditional "thus have I heard."

The text also makes much of a theme that we might describe as "the one and the many." On more than one occasion the Buddha Śākyamuni divides his body, allowing living beings in a multitude of places to see him as if he were present before them. But it is not only these events that generate the appearance of a multitude of Buddhas. The Buddhas of the ten directions likewise seem to be multiple versions of one being, with all of them (as well as the bodhisattvas that accompany them) having parallel names. In the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, in sum, the similarity of one Buddha (or one bodhisattva) to another seems more important than the individual features of any particular one.

This symmetry, as we have seen, appears to be associated with the absence of a personal relationship with any particular being; since all Buddhas are equal (and indeed, virtually identical), no particular one of them plays any special role. As if refracted through a prism, these Buddhas and bodhisattvas appear as mirror images of one another.

But it is not only on an iconographic level that such reflectivity appears in this text, for it operates on a narrative level as well. The scene at the beginning of the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, where the Buddha Śākyamuni has just experienced awakening at Magadha, recurs several times in the larger text: in Śikṣānanda's version (T 279) it occurs at the beginning of chapters 1, 7 (the portion which corresponds to the beginning of the smaller *sūtra*), 27, and 38. The beginning of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* (chapter 26) also reflects this passage, but with several improvements (as it were): the Buddha is no longer on earth, but in the *Paranirmitavaśavartin* heaven; when he illuminates the universe he does so not with a ray of light from his foot, but from his head (more specifically, from the tuft of hair between his

eyebrows). And even this scene is reflected once again, for when Śākyamuni Buddha emits light, the other Buddhas of the ten directions do so as well.

This vision of the universe clearly found a ready audience in China, for both translations of the shorter *Buddhāvataṃsaka* – the *Pusa benye jing* and the *Dousha jing* group – were avidly appropriated by the authors of indigenous scriptures, including not only Buddhist but also Daoist texts (see Appendix 2). By contrast, we have little evidence concerning the impact that this scripture may have had in India – with the exception, of course, of the fact that it was preserved and amplified into the text known today in Chinese as the *Huayan jing*. For specialists in the latter (and larger) text, an appreciation of the existence of the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* as a separate work will make possible future comparative studies highlighting the distinctive elements that were introduced into the text at a later date. As to the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* itself, I hope to have shown that it is eminently worthy of receiving scholarly attention as an integral text in its own right.

Appendix 1

Synoptic Table of the Smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka*

The section numbers given below are taken from the synoptic edition in Nattier 2005 of the *Dousha jing* group (Taishō nos. 280, 282 and 283) and the *Pusa benye jing* (T 281). Line numbers are from the CBETA edition (all are in volume ten of the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*).

Section Number	***Dousha jing* group**	***Pusa benye jing***
	T 280	
§0	445a5	---
§1a	445a6–13	446b29–c4
§1b	445a13–20	446c4–9
§1c	445a20–25	446c9–12
§1d	445a26–b3	446c12–14
§1e	445b3–14	446c14–16
§2a	445b14–19	446c17–18
§2b	445b19–23	446c19–20
§2c	445b24–27	446c21–22
§2d	445b28–c1	446c23–24
§2e	445c2–5	446c25–26
§2f	445c6–9	446c27–28
§2g	445c10–13	446c29–30
§2h	445c14–17	447a1–2

§2i	445c18–21	447a3–4
§2j	445c22–25	447a5–8
§3a	445c26–446a2	447a8–12
§3b	446a2–6	447a12–14
§3c	446a6–16	10.447a14–19
§4a	446a16–b19	447a20–23
§4b	446a20–b2	447a23–b1
§4c	446b2–5	447b2
§4d	446b6–9	447b2–4
§4e	446b10–22	---
	T 282	
§5a	451a6–18	447b6–9
§5b	451a18–25	447b9–10
§5c	451a25–b2	447b10–15
§5d	451b2–11	447b15–17
§6a	451b11–20	447b18–24
§6b	451b21–c11	447b25–c9
§6c	451c11–454a7	447c9–449b24
§7a	454a8–16	449b26–30
§7b	454a17–26	449b30–c4
	T 283	
§8a	454b6–7	449c4–6
§8b	454b7–17	---
§8c	454b18–22	---
§9a	454b22–c1	449c6–15
§9b	454c1–11	449c15–17
§9c	454c12–27	449c18–27
§9d	454c28–455a11	449a1–7
§9e	455a11–25	450a8–14
§9f	455a26–b11	450a15–22
§9g	455b12–24	450a23–29
§9h	455b25–c9	455a29–b8
§9i	455c10–456a2	450b9–20
§9j	456a3–18	450b21–29
§9k	456a19–b5	450b30–c8
§9l	456b6–c3	450c9–26
§10	456c3–4	450c26

Appendix 2

Borrowings from the *Pusa benye jing* and the *Dousha jing* Group in Indigenous Chinese Scriptures

Discussions of the popularity of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* in China are generally based on the extent to which the translations of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* produced by Buddhabhadra and Śikṣānanda were quoted and commented upon by Chinese thinkers. But the translations of the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* produced by Lokakṣema and Zhi Qian were widely influential as well. One indication of the success of these shorter translations in gaining an audience in China is the extent to which they were appropriated by the composers of indigenous (or "apocryphal") scriptures. The following is a list of texts – both Buddhist and Daoist – that can be shown to have borrowed passages from either Lokakṣema's or Zhi Qian's translation. This list contains only those scriptures that have come to my attention thus far; there may well be others that have not yet been identified.

Texts Borrowing from Lokakṣema's Version

T 284 *Pusa shizhu jing* 菩薩十住經

Supposedly a translation by Gītamitra 衹多蜜 (fl. 317–420 CE), but the fact that this scripture reproduces virtually the whole of T 283 word-for-word makes it clear that it is not an independent translation of an Indian text, but a scripture created in China. (The attribution to Gītamitra was first made by Fei Changfang 費長房 in his *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀). The enumeration of the ten stages of the bodhisattva path remains the same, but it is encased in a different frame story: the discourse is placed in the mouth of the Buddha, not of Dharmamati, and the teachings on the ten stages are portrayed as a response to a question from Mañjuśrī. This frame, in turn, has a parallel in (and indeed, appears to be drawn from) the *Pusa neijie jing* 菩薩內戒經 (T 1487), but in a different sequence from the one found there.[73]

T 1487 *Pusa neijie jing* 菩薩內戒經

Supposedly a translation by Guṇavarman 求那跋摩 (367–431 CE), this text too reproduces virtually every word of Lokakṣema's T 283. Indeed, it seems likely that the

73 T 284: 10.458a9–12 corresponds to T 1487: 24.1032c18–21, while T 284: 10.456c10ff. corresponds to T 1487: 24.1032c22ff.

original borrowing was made by its authors, and that the composers of T 284 took their material not directly from T 283, but from this text. No scripture by this title appears in Sengyou's catalogue; it is listed as an anonymous translation (*shiyi* 失譯) in the *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄.[74]

Texts Borrowing from Zhi Qian's Version

T 778 *Pusa neixi liu boluomi jing* 菩薩內習六波羅蜜經

Credited to Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調 (fl. 181–188) in modern catalogues, but Sengyou includes it on Dao'an's list of anonymous translations (assuming this is the same text as the *Nei wai boluomi jing* 內外波羅蜜經).[75] The entire text appears to be apocryphal; it contains material relating the six meditations of the *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經 (T 602) to the six pāramitās, the six sense organs, etc. At the end of the text, with no context or introduction, one finds the list of ten bodhisattva stages given in Zhi Qian's *Pusa benye jing*.

T 1331 *Guanding qi wan er qiu shenwang hu biqiu zhou jing* 灌頂七萬二千神王護比丘呪經

Traditionally attributed to Bo Śrīmitra 帛尸梨蜜多羅 (fl. early 4th century CE), but this text can easily be recognized as an apocryphon (for a convenient discussion in English see Strickmann 1990). The text replicates Zhi Qian's list of Buddhas and buddha-fields of the ten directions (none of the bodhisattva names found there are given, though the speaker bears the name of one of them). In Sengyou's catalogue this text appears on the list of anonymous scriptures.[76]

T 1485 *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經

Supposedly a translation by Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (fl. late fourth century CE), this text has long been known to be an an apocryphon. It incorporates substantial material from the *Pusa benye jing* (including the title), though its authors also drew from the *Huayan jing* translated by Buddhabhadra.

74 T 2146: 55.139b23.
75 T 2145: 55.17c25.
76 T 2145: 55.31a24.

Lingbao 靈寶 #6 (*Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wucheng fuwen shangjing* 太上無極大道自然真一五稱符文上經, HY 671)

Copies the section of Zhi Qian's text dealing with the Buddhas and bodhisattvas of the ten directions almost verbatim.[77]

Lingbao 靈寶 #8 (*Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui zuigen shangpin dajie jing* 太上洞玄靈寶智慧罪根上品大戒經, HY 457)

Contains an adaptation of Zhi Qian's treatment of the ten stages.[78]

Lingbao 靈寶 #11 (*Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yukui mingzhen ke* 洞玄靈寶長夜之府九幽玉匱明真科, HY 1400)

Contains an adaptation of Zhi Qian's treatment of the ten stages.[79]

Lingbao 靈寶 #25 (*Xiaomo zhihui benyuan dajie shangpin* 消魔智慧本願大戒上品, HY 344)

Copies (and adapts) a substantial portion of the section on the bodhisattva's wishes for other beings, here interpreting them as vows.[80]

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77 Bokenkamp 1983: 468.
78 Bokenkamp 1990: 126–128.
79 Bokenkamp 1990: 126–128.
80 Bokenkamp 1983: 470.

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IMRE HAMAR

THE HISTORY OF THE *BUDDHĀVATAṂSAKA-SŪTRA*: SHORTER AND LARGER TEXTS*

In the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon, one can find the *Huayan* section (*huayan bu* 華嚴部) in part two of volume nine as well as in volume ten. It does not merely contain the so-called "original or complete translations" of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (T 278 and T 279, known in Chinese as *benbu* 本部), but also freestanding translations of works corresponding to certain chapters of these larger works (referred to in Chinese as *zhipin* 支品),[1] as well as works which do not correspond to any of the chapters but were presumably written under the influence of the *Huayan* works and were thus traditionally considered to be *Huayan*-related works (*juanshu jing* 眷屬經). The Chinese terms *ben* 本 (root, origin) and *zhi* 支 (branch, descendent) clearly imply that according to the Chinese tradition the freestanding translations originate from a "complete" *sūtra* which is regarded as the revelation of Buddha's experience of enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree.[2] However, modern philological investigations, as we shall see below, have shown that the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*s (T 278 and T 279) were compiled on the basis of shorter *sūtra*s.

The so-called "original translations" are also called abridged version (*lüeben* 略本) since, as legend has it, the primordial *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* was much longer than any of the extant versions. According to this legend, Nāgārjuna (c. second century CE), the founder of the Madhyamaka philosophy, brought the *sūtra* into the world from the palace of serpents (*nāga*).[3] The serpents guarded three versions, which the Chinese exegetes call the upper (*shang* 上), middle (*zhong* 中) and lower

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1 As of the Sui period (581–618), the catalogues indicate the correspondences between the so-called partial translations and chapters from the larger works. Fajing's 法經 *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄 T 2146: 55.119c11–120a1. and Yancong's 彥琮 *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄 T 2147: 55.159a22–b6.

2 Wei 1998: 41.

3 *Nāga*s played an important role even in early Buddhism. A *nāga* can be a serpent, a human or a low-ranking god. See Rawlinson 1986: 135–153. According to the *Mahāyāna* legend, Nāgārjuna visited the *nāga*s and there he discovered the *prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*s, which had been unknown after Buddha's death. See Williams 1989: 55.

(*xia* 下) *sūtra*s. The longest is the upper version, which consisted of *śloka*s[4] identical in number to that of the specks of dust in the great universe and chapters identical in number to that of the specks of dust in the four worlds. The middle version contained 498,800 *śloka*s and 1200 chapters while the lower version consisted of 100,000 *śloka*s and 48 chapters.[5] The upper and middle versions were too difficult for people, so Nāgārjuna brought the shortest version with him. This story was thought to be borne out by the fact that, according to the *Dazhi du lun* 大智度論, *The Sūtra of the Inconceivable Enlightenment* (**Acintyavimokṣa-sūtra*, *Buke siyi jietuo jing* 不可思議解脫經) consisted of 100,000 verses.[6] And this *sūtra* is none other than the last chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. This legend can be traced back to Jizang 吉藏 (549–623), who had read about it in Nāgārjuna's biography.[7]

In the first half of this article, I examine the translations of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* and the freestanding translations of its chapters (T 278–298). In the second half I demonstrate with a table how the chapters of the larger works and the freestanding translations of the chapters correspond to one another. In this article I will not cover works that are included in the *Huayan* section but do not correspond to any of the chapters in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (T 299–309).[8]

4 The Chinese *jie* 偈 and *song* 頌 are translations of the Sanskrit *gāthā* and *śloka*. If it is a measure of length, *śloka* is the appropriate Sanskrit term. See Gómez 1967: XXV. n. 1.

5 We first encounter this with Zhiyan in the *Huayan* school in his work entitled *Huayan jing nei zhangmen deng za kongmuzhang* 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目章 T 1870: 45.586c23–26. It can also be found in the works of the later patriarchs: Fazang's *Huayan jing zhigui* 華嚴經旨歸 T 1871: 45.593b10–15. and *Huayan jing guanmai yiji* 華嚴經關脈義記 T 1879: 45.656c1–22, HZ T 2073: 51.153a29–b4, *HTJ* T 1733: 35.122b16–19. and Chengguan's *Da fangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 T 1735: 35.523a10–22.

6 T 1509: 25.756b7.

7 Jizang examined why the title of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* does not appear in the text. He explained that only 36,000 of the 100,000 *śloka*s of the lower version reached China and that the title can only be found in the part that follows, which was not translated into Chinese (T 1780: 38.863b19–27.). According to Indian custom, the title is placed at the end of the work; it was Daoan 道安 (312–385) who placed it at the beginning of the work in line with Chinese custom (T 1780: 38.863c8–9.). Jizang read about the three versions in Nāgārjuna's biography, which Sengtan 僧曇 had brought from Khotan. Sengtan and his eleven companions set off for Inner Asia in 575 with the objective of bringing back Buddhist works that were not available in China. They returned home in 581 with 260 Sanskrit manuscripts. These works were translated into Chinese by Jñānagupta (Shenajueduo 闍那崛多) and other translator-monks. The translation of Nāgārjuna's biography has not survived, however, and none of the catalogues confirms the existence of such a work from this era. Nāgārjuna's biography has only survived in a translation by Kumārajīva (344–409/413); however, it lacks the section about the three versions. If we accept Jizang's report as credible then this detail was added to the text during the 150 years between the death of Kumārajīva and the expedition. Perhaps it was in Khotan that the text was expanded, bearing out the close connection between Khotan and the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. See Ōnishi 1985: 500–505.

8 For a detailed description of the *Huayan sūtra*s, see Takamine 1976: 457–469; Ishii 1964: 57–134. It is on the basis of these that Frédéric Girard prepared his excellent French-language summary. See Girard 1990: 16–27.

The *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* in India

The *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is among the longest of the Mahāyāna *sūtra*s; however, only two chapters have survived in Sanskrit: the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra,* which describes the spiritual development of a bodhisattva, and the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra,* which relates the search for the path by a young boy named Sudhana.[9] This latter work has inspired a great deal of Buddhist art; indeed, the theme is depicted in pictures and carvings from Borobuḍur to Japan.[10] In fact, I had an opportunity not long ago to view by torchlight the statues depicting the 53 stations of Sudhana's journey in the Duobao 多寶 Pagoda of Dazu 大足.[11] Relatively few Buddhist *sūtra*s have survived in Sanskrit, so the dearth of Sanskrit manuscripts is by no means an indication that the work never existed in Sanskrit. The commentaries are of great use in determining the originality of a work and in examining how it is cited in other Indian works.

No written Indian commentary to any version of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* collection has survived, nor is it certain whether one ever existed. Two Indian commentaries relevant to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* have been preserved, although both discuss only one chapter of the *sūtra*, the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra.* The first is the *Shizhu piposha lun* 十住毘婆沙論,[12] which, according to tradition, was written by Nāgārjuna and which comments on the first two of the ten stages. Vasubandhu (400–480) wrote the second, the *Daśabhūmivyākhyāna* (*Shidi jing lun* 十地經論),[13] which expounds on the entire *sūtra.* Several Indian works quote from the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra.* The *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論, which is attributed to Nāgārjuna, cites the *Bukesiyi jing* 不可思議經, which corresponds to the *Gaṇḍavyūha.* If we accept the authorship of Nāgārjuna, then the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* must already have existed in the 2nd or 3rd centuries. Lamotte, however, disputes this and considers the author of the work a Northern Indian monk who lived in the 4th century and is likely to have belonged to the Sarvāstivāda school.[14] The *Sūtra-samuccaya*, attributed to Nāgārjuna but composed by an unknown author in the 5th century, cites twice the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* by name, however it also cites component texts of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* under their own titles, i.e. the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, the *Tathāgatotpattisaṃbhava-sūtra*, *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, and *Lokottara-parivarta*[15]. The *Ratnagotravibhāga*, written by Sāramati in the 5th century, quotes from the *Appearance of Tathāgata in*

9 For these works and Sanskrit publications, see Nakamura 1980: 194–197. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* title is difficult to define. The word *gaṇḍa* means 'stem of a plant, part of something' and *vyūha* is 'arrangement, heap, manifestation'. On this basis Gómez translated the title as *The Sūtra Containing Manifestations in Sections*. This definition is also supported by the fact that the text was referred to by sections called *vimokṣa*s. See Gómez 1967: 61–62.

10 Fontein 1967.

11 For a detailed description of the statues, see Li 2002: 171–193.

12 T 1521.

13 T 1522.

14 Lamotte 1970.

15 I am grateful to Paul Harrison for calling my attention to this text.

the World chapter (*Rulai chuxian pin* 如來出現品),[16] while in his work entitled *Śikṣā-samuccaya* Śāntideva (686–763) quotes from the *Leader of the Good* chapter (*Xian-shou pin* 賢首品), the *Ten Dedications* chapter (*Shi huixiang pin* 十迴向品), *Detachment from the World* chapter (*Li shijian pin* 離世間品) and the *Pure Practice* chapter (*Jingxing pin* 淨行品) using the titles *Ratnolkādhāraṇī*,[17] *Vajradhvaja-sūtra*,[18] *Lokottaraparivarta*,[19] and *Gocarapariśuddhi-sūtra*,[20] respectively. It is important to note that even in this late Indian work Śāntideva refers to chapters in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* as freestanding *sūtra*s. This might indicate that the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, which corresponds to the sixty- and eighty-fascicle versions of the *Huayan jing*, was unknown in India as one work, and was known only by individual chapters. However, ŌTAKE Susumu has attempted to show that the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, in fact, was composed in India.[21]

Partial Translations before the Translation of the Larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*

The first Chinese translation of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* was finished in 420; prior to that, however, certain chapters had appeared as separate *sūtra*s.[22] These early translations characteristically do not correspond to individual chapters, but are rather extracts from several chapters of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. This raises the question of the connection between the partial translations and the translation of larger version. Were summaries made from the larger works or, conversely, were the larger *sūtra*s compilations based on early freestanding works? According to KIMURA Kiyotaka, the simplicity of the early works provides evidence that they appeared earlier than the larger works.[23]

The earliest translation is associated with the name Lokakṣema, who translated a work entitled *Fo shuo dousha jing* 佛說兜沙經[24] between 178 and 189, which corresponds to the *Names of Tathāgata* (*Rulai minghao pin* 如來名號品) and *Enlightenment through the Light of Tathāgata* (*Rulai guangming jue pin* 如來光明覺品) chapters in the sixty-fascicle work.[25] The word *dousha* in Lokakṣema's title is a

16 Takasaki 1966: 189–192.
17 Bendall and Rouse 1922: 3, 152, 291.
18 Ibid., 24, 29, 204, 255, 291.
19 Ibid., 151.
20 Ibid., 310. Ōtake Susumu has called my attention to the fact that Vasubandhu's *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra-bhāṣya* also refers to this chapter under this title and that Asvabhāva's *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha-upanibandhana* quotes a poem from the *Gocarapariśuddhi-sūtra*. (T 1598: 31.412b)
21 See his article in this book.
22 For a list and examination of the early works, see Kimura 1977: 6–12.
23 Kimura 1992: 11–14.
24 T 280.
25 Eric Zürcher accepts 29 works as Han period translations on the basis of Chinese catalogues and style. Included among these is the *Fo shuo dousha jing*. See Zürcher 1991: 298.

transliterated Sanskrit word; however, it cannot be unmistakably identified. One possible solution is *daśa*, which means ten.[26] One reason that this is likely is that the number ten has great significance in the work. It introduces the characteristics of a bodhisattva with a list of ten.[27] Some of these characteristics can also be found in the titles of individual chapters of the larger works; it is therefore likely that the editors of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*s used this work as a source in editing individual chapters.[28] The number ten frequently occurs throughout the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* with the suggestion of perfection.

The *sūtra* entitled *The Fundamental Activity of a Bodhisattva as Related by Buddha* (*Fo shuo pusa benye jing* 佛說菩薩本業經),[29] which Zhi Qian translated nearly fifty years later between 222 and 228, is extremely important in terms of the formation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Before any further investigation, it is important to emphasize that the chronological order of the translations does not necessarily correspond to the order in which the original source works appeared. Indeed, it is conceivable that one work came to China much later than another. As a result, it is not certain that the Indian antecedent of *Fo shuo dousha jing* mentioned previously was composed earlier than that of *The Fundamental Activity of a Bodhisattva*. The work is divided into three parts: the first part either has no title or the title has not survived. The title of the second part is *The Practice of Making Good Wishes* (*yuanxing pin* 願行品), and that of the third is *The Ten Stages* (*shidi pin* 十地品). The antecedents of the following chapters in the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing* can be discerned in the work: *The Names of Tathāgata* (*Rulai minghao pin* 如來名號品), *Enlightenment through the Light* (*Rulai guangmingjue pin* 如來光明覺品), *Pure Practice* (*Jingxing pin* 淨行品), *The Ascent of Buddha to the Peak of Mount Sumeru* (*Fo sheng Xumiding pin* 佛昇須彌頂品), *The Bodhisattvas Gather as Clouds in the Palace of the Glorious Victory and Recite Poems* (*Pusa yunji miaosheng dianshang shuojie pin* 菩薩雲集妙勝殿上說偈品) and *The Ten Abodes of the Bodhisattvas* (*Pusa shizhu pin* 菩薩十住品).[30]

According to SAKAMOTO Yukio, it would be erroneous to assume that these six chapters evolved directly out of this *sūtra* since the following works can be considered to be their middle stations of development: *Fo shuo dousha jing*, the *Bodhisattvas Ask about the Fundamental Activity of Buddha Sūtra* (*Zhupusa qiu fo benye jing*

26 Alternative solutions are *tathāgata*, *toṣa* (satisfaction). See Girard 1990: 17.

27 T 280: 10.445a27–b3.

28 The following chapters are in the sixty-fascicle work: *Ten Abodes* (11), *Ten Deeds* (17), *Ten Inexhaustible Treasuries* (18), *Ten Dedications* (21), *Ten Stages* (22), *Ten Supernatural Knowledges* (23) and *Ten Acceptances* (24). They correspond to the following chapters in the eighty-fascicle version: 15, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29.

29 T 281. According to Jan Nattier as well, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* developed from this *sūtra*. Nattier 2003: 192, n. 38. Kobayashi Jitsugen, however, points out that there are significant differences between this *sūtra* and the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Indeed, the protagonist here is Śākyamuni buddha, whereas it is Vairocana Buddha in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Furthermore, the essential aim of the work is to describe the path of the *bodhisattva* and not to introduce the absolute world of Buddha. See Kobayashi 1958: 168–169.

30 For a comparison of the texts, see Sakamoto 1964: 301–314.

諸菩薩求佛本業經)[31] and the *Practices of the Ten Stages of the Bodhisattvas* chapter (*Pusa shizhu xingdao pin* 菩薩十住行道品).[32] However, Jan Nattier has compared these three works (*Dousha jing*, *Zhupusa qiu fo benye jing, Pusa shizhu xingdao pin*) with the *Fundamental Activity of the Bodhisattva* and convincingly showed that fitting the three *sūtra*s together produces a text that corresponds to the *Fundamental Activity of the Bodhisattva.* It can be concluded that the three texts were originally a translation of one work, although it was preserved in three parts in the transmission process and therefore later came to be seen as three separate works.[33] Accordingly, from the aspect of the evolution of the text, the three works do not represent a later developmental stage, but another translation/recension of the very same work. This translation was done by Lokakṣema.

The work of Dharmarakṣa, who also translated several *Huayan sūtra*s into Chinese, represents a milestone in the spread of these works. Already in the CSJ, the following works are listed as his translations:[34]

1. *Going Beyond the World* (*Du shi pin jing* 度世品經)[35] 27 May 291.
2. *The Appearance of Tathāgata as Related by Buddha* (*Fo shuo rulai xingxian jing* 佛說如來興現經)[36] 31 January 292.
3. *Gradually Obtaining the Virtue of Omniscience* (*Jianbei yiqie zhi de jing* 漸備一切智德經)[37] 21 December 297.
4. *The Ten Abodes of the Bodhisattva* (*Pusa shizhu jing* 菩薩十住經) 9 November 302.[38]
5. *The Ten Stages of the Bodhisattva* (*Pusa shidi jing* 菩薩十地經) 28 December 303.[39]
6. *The Bodhisattva Equal Eyes Asks about the Ten Samādhis* (*Dengmu pusa suowen sanmei jing* 等目菩薩所問三昧經)[40] 284–308?

According to his biography, Dharmarakṣa travelled with his master to Central Asia, where he learned the local languages and collected Buddhist manuscripts. Unfortunately, the biography does not tell us when the journey took place or what areas Dharmarakṣa visited. However, no mention is made of any translations done by him between 273 and 284, and it is therefore possible that he journeyed west then.[41] He

31 T 282.
32 T 283.
33 See Nattier's article in this volume and Nattier 2005.
34 For the dates of the works on the basis of the CSJ, see Boucher 1996: 33.
35 T 292.
36 T 291.
37 T 285.
38 The date of this work can only be found in the Song, Yuan and Ming editions of the CSJ. It is therefore uncertain.
39 The date of this work can only be found in the Song, Yuan and Ming editions of the CSJ. It is therefore uncertain.
40 T 288.
41 Boucher 1996: 34–35. For an English translation of his biography in the CSJ, see Ibid. 23–30. For more details on Dharmarakṣa, see Zürcher 1959: 65–70.

translated the *Huayan sūtras* afterwards, so he is likely to have collected these materials during his journey. The fourth and fifth works have not survived, while the rest can be found in the Chinese collections. The date of the sixth work is uncertain, although it can presumably be placed after he returned from Central Asia (284?) and before he completed the last translation which can be dated with certainty (308). This item is missing from Daoan's catalogue, which is frequently cited by the CSJ, so this provides some grounds for suspicion.[42] This *sūtra* is extremely interesting in respect of the fact that it is absent from the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, whereas it is included in the eighty-fascicle version under the title *Chapter of the Ten Concentrations* (*Shiding pin* 十定品). KIMURA Kiyotaka is of the opinion that on this basis it cannot be ruled out that the eighty-fascicle *sūtra* appeared earlier than the sixty-fascicle work.[43] It is more likely, however, that the eighty-fascicle version came about later and that its editor or editors also incorporated this *sūtra*, which had previously circulated independently.

Dharmarakṣa's *Appearance of Tathāgata Sūtra* (**Tathāgatotpattisaṃbhava-nirdeśa-sūtra*)[44] is also noteworthy in several respects. First of all, as has been demonstrated by Takasaki Jikidō, this work is an important precursor to the inception of the *Tathāgatagarbha* theory.[45] The translation by Dharmarakṣa contains an introductory part which is not included in either the sixty- or eighty-fascicle *Huayan jing*; it is included, however, in the Tibetan translation.[46] Either the translators of the larger Chinese version omitted this part or it had been missing from the original Sanskrit manuscript as well. A further remarkable aspect of the work is that, in addition to the *Chapter of the Appearance of Tathāgata*, it also contains the *Chapter of the Ten Acceptances* (*Shiren pin* 十忍品). Like translations from earlier periods, therefore, this translation also includes more than one chapter of the later larger *Huayan jing*. It appears that the *Rulai xingxian jing* 如來興顯經, a work mentioned by the LSJ and translated by Bai 白 or Bo 帛 Fazu 法祖, who lived in the time of Emperor Hui 惠 (r. 290–306) of the Jin 晉 dynasty (265–420), is another translation of this work.[47] However, the CSJ makes no mention of this work and so its existence is in serious doubt. According to the LSJ, another translation of this *sūtra* is the *Dafangguang rulai xingqi weimizang jing* 大方廣如來性起微密藏經, which was completed in the Yuankang 元康 period and whose translator is unknown.[48] According to the KSL, however, this is simply an independently circulated version of the text from the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, and it cannot therefore be considered a new translation.[49]

42 T 2145: 55.8c11.
43 Kimura 1992: 13.
44 TAKASAKI Jikidō reconstructed the Sanskrit title on the basis of the Tibetan title. See Takasaki 1958: 348–343.
45 Takasaki 1974: 574–602.
46 For a Japanese translation of the Tibetan text, see Takasaki 1981: 127–280.
47 T 2034: 49.66b2. His biography in the GZ does not mention the translation. T 2059: 50.327a13–c11.
48 T 2034: 49.68a22, b1–2.
49 T 2154: 55.590c12. KAGINUSHI Ryōkei 鍵主良敬 also argued in favour of this prior to the discovery of the text. See Kaginushi 1973: 37–56; 1974: 842–848.

This version was lost in China, but was recently discovered in the Nanatsudera Temple in Nagoya.[50] An investigation of this text has borne out the claim made by the KSL.[51]

The *Gradually Obtaining the Virtue of Omniscience Sūtra*, the translation of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, and the two other lost translations by Dharmarakṣa (4, 5) also demonstrate the ten stages of the spiritual development of a bodhisattva. This indicates that this work enjoyed great popularity during this period. The LSJ is the first source that attributes the translation of five *Huayan sūtra*s to Nie Daozhen 聶道真, Dharmarakṣa's scribe. From among these it is only the *Bodhisattvas Ask about the Fundamental Activity of Buddha Sūtra* mentioned previously which has survived. The CSJ makes mention of this and two other works, *The Original Vow and Practice of the Bodhisattvas* (*Pusa benyuan xing pin jing* 菩薩本願行品經)[52] and *The Ten-stage Path of the Bodhisattvas* (*Pusa shi dao di jing* 菩薩十道地經);[53] however, it considers their translator unknown. The other two works attributed to Nie Daozhen (*Shizhu jing* 十住經 and *Pusa chudi jing* 菩薩初地經) also deal with the spiritual development of a bodhisattva.

One of the works lost early on is the *Shidi duanjie jing* 十地斷結經, whose translator, according to certain works, was Zhu Falan 竺法蘭,[54] who, as legend has it, came to Luoyang with the Chinese delegation following a dream of the Emperor Ming 明 (r. 58–75).[55] If this were true, it would mean that the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* would already have been translated into Chinese in the first century. According to the *KSL*, Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 also translated a work between 365 and 385, the *Shidi duanjie jing* or *Shizhu duanjie jing* in ten fascicles. The title of Taishō 309 is similar: *Zuisheng wen pusa shizhu chugou duanjie jing* 最勝問菩薩十住除垢斷結經. The translator of this is also Zhu Fonian and it also consists of ten fascicles; it is therefore likely that the catalogue is referring to this work. This *sūtra*, however, is not identical to the *Ten Stages* chapter in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, so it can only be listed among works related to the *Huayan*. It is a sign of serious interest in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* that, prior to the translation of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, it was rendered into Chinese two more times: by Gītamitra under the title *Fo shuo pusa shizhu jing* 佛說菩薩十住經[56] and by Kumārajīva and Buddhayaśas under the title *Shizhu jing* 十住經.[57]

The last chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*, was also translated before the larger translation. The Taishō canon also contains the *Foshuo luomoqie jing* 佛說羅摩伽經,[58] which Shengjian 聖堅 rendered into Chinese between 389 and

50 Numerous works thought to have been lost have come to light at this temple, so it is an extremely important discovery for research on Buddhism. See Ochiai 1991.

51 For an edition of the text, see Kimura 1999.

52 T 2145: 55.23a13.

53 T 2145: 55.22c23.

54 KSL T 2154: 55.478b08, GZ T 2059: 50.323a14.

55 Tsukamoto 1979: vol. I. 45.

56 T 284.

57 T 286.

58 T 294.

406.[59] The work consists of only three fascicles, so it is quite fragmentary compared to later translations.[60] According to the LSJ, An Faxian 安法賢 had translated it in the 3rd century under the same title,[61] whereas Dharmakṣema translated it at the beginnning of the 5th century.[62] However, neither work has survived.

The Sixty-Fascicle *Huayan jing*[63]

The Sanskrit manuscript that served as the source for the first Chinese translation of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* was brought from Khotan (Yutian 于闐, modern Hetian xian 和田縣). The sacred scriptures were jealously guarded and foreigners were not allowed to take them out of the country. Zhi Faling 支法領, however, ultimately managed to convince the king present him with the first part of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, 36,000 *śloka*s (*jie* 偈) in length. Afterwards, he brought the work to Chang'an. Another monk who was travelling with him, Zhiyan 智嚴, did not return home, but travelled on to Kashmir. He was surprised at the pure life of the monks in Kashmir and their strict observence of the monastic regulations. When he asked who could teach the Chinese, he was told it was Buddhabhadra, and so he asked the master to accompany him to China.[64]

The foreign master stayed in Chang'an from 406 to 408 but probably had a difference of opinion with the other famous master translator of the age, Kumārajīva, who maintained his own harem behind the walls of the monastery and thus received criticism from monks who argued in favour of following the strict moral code. From Chang'an Buddhabhadra went to Lushan 廬山, where he joined the community of Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–417) and commenced translating several texts on meditation. In 413, he went to Jiankang 建康, where he settled at the Daochang 道場 monastery. Here he met Zhi Faling, who had arrived from Chang'an. Zhi Faling asked Buddhabhadra to translate the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, which he had brought with him from Khotan. On the tenth day of the third month [30 April] of 418, he began the work and completed it on the tenth day of the sixth month [6 July] of 420. Financial support for the work was provided by two officials: Meng Yi 孟顗,[65] who held the office of governor of Wu prefecture (*wujun neishi* 吳郡內史), and Chu Shudu 褚叔度,[66] who

59 T 2034: 49.83b19.

60 For a brief summary of the work, see Fontein 1967: 176.

61 T 2034: 49.56c25.

62 T 2034: 49.84b12.

63 For a German translation of the work, see Doi 1978, 1981, 1982; for a Japanese translation, see Etō 1917.

64 For a biography of Buddhabhadra, see GZ T 2059: 50.334b26–335c14.

65 We know that Meng Yi was a devout Buddhist; however, other sources do not confirm an association with the translation of the *Huayan jing*.

66 Chu Shudu's biography can be found in the *Nanshi* 南史 (*juan* 28), but it does not mention his Buddhist connections.

was the general in charge of the garrison on the right flank (*youwei jiangjun* 右衛將軍). After this, he compared the Sanskrit text with the Chinese translation. He completed this phase of the work on the twenty-eighth day of the twelfth month [5 February, 422] of 421. The scribal (*bishouzhe* 筆受者) work was carried out by Faye 法業.[67] Faye expounded on the teachings of the opus in a work of his own entitled *Huayan zhigui* 華嚴旨歸, written in two fascicles. He placed the Sanskrit manuscript on a table and presumably made offerings to it. A Huayan hall (*huayan tang* 華嚴堂) was built in the monastery, where the monks would probably have made offerings.

According to both the CSJ and the KSL, Buddhabhadra's translation at first consisted of fifty fascicles and was later divided into sixty.[68] Other catalogues confirm this. It is not known who re-named it the sixty-fascicle work, but it already had that name in the Sui period (581–618).[69] However, the fifty-fascicle work continued to survive according to the catalogues and this is borne out by a manuscript from the Song period (960–1279) which consists of fifty fascicles. Since the third patriarch of the Huayan tradition, Fazang 法藏 (643–712) calls it the sixty-fascicle work in his commentary, this name is likely to have become common by the start of the Tang period (618–907). In terms of content, however, the text did not change.

Divākara (Rizhao 日照 in Chinese), a translator from India,[70] arrived in Chang'an in the spring of 680, settled at the Taiyuan 太原 monastery, and soon became the most respected master translator of the age. He brought with him the Sanskrit manuscript of the last chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, and, with the aid of Fazang, compared it as well as the other Sanskrit manuscripts available to him with the translation by Buddhabhadra. They compared a total of eight or nine Sanskrit manuscripts,[71] and found that nine sections which were missing in Buddhabhadra's translation were present in all the versions; the master, therefore, had omitted them from the work.[72] Similarly, the part between the meeting with Maitreya and that with Samantabhadra, in which Mañjuśrī touches Sudhana's head from a distance, was also missing from Buddhabhadra's version. Naturally, in the absence

67 The colophon of the *Huayan jing* provides this information on the translation of the work. See T 278: 9.788b3–9. CSJ T 2145: 55.60c29–61a8. According to the GZ, it was not Zhi Faling who requested Buddhabhadra to translate the work, but two officials, Meng Yi and Chu Shudu. In addition to Faye, it also mentions Huiyan 慧嚴 as a participant in the work and adds that over a hundred others also assisted. It makes mention of the creation of the *Huayan tang*; however, it does not provide the time of the translation. See T 2059: 50.335c4–9. The GZ also says that Faye was knowledgeable in the *Huayan* as Tanbin 曇斌 had learnt *Huayan* from him. See T 2059: 50.373a23.

68 CSJ T 2145: 55.11c9, KL T 2154: 55.505b21.

69 ZM T 2146: 55.115a11

70 For his biography, see *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 T 2061: 50.719a19, HZ T 2073: 51.154c10. See also Forte 1974: 135–164; Chen forthcoming, Chapter 5.

71 HTJ T 1733: 35.122c22–27, 484c9–15.

72 Parts that have been omitted: the ten persons called on between the visits to Māyā and Maitreya.

of the original manuscript, we cannot fault Buddhabhadra for this omission with certainty since it is possible that these parts were missing from the manuscript that he used. The missing parts were translated and the work circulated independently during the Tang dynasty under the title *Dafangguang fo huayan jing rufajie pin* 大方廣佛華嚴經入法界品.[73] It was only in the Song period (960–1279) that these parts were incorporated into the sixty-fascicle translation.[74]

The Eighty-Fascicle *Huayan jing*[75]

Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (623/625–705) learned that the original manuscript of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* could be found in Khotan and sent envoys to collect it. Śikṣānanda brought the work to China and later settled at the Dabian 大遍 monastery in the eastern capital, where he began translating it. This Sanskrit manuscript was longer than the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing* by 9,000 *śloka*s and consisted of a total of 45,000 *śloka*s. The Sanskrit text was read aloud by Bodhiruci 菩提流志 and Yijing 義淨 while Fazang and Fuli 復禮 wrote down the translation. The work began on the fourteenth day of the third month [1 May] of 695 and was completed in the Foshouji 佛授記 monastery on the eighth day of the tenth month [6 September] of 699 with a foreword written by the empress herself. Foshouji appears as the site of the translation in Huiyuan's 慧苑 (673–743) *Xu huayan lüeshu kanding ji* 續華嚴略疏刊定記 whereas the Empress Wu mentions the Great Biankong 遍空 monastery in her foreword.[76] As CHEN Jinhua showed Śikṣānanda's translation bureau was based at Foshouji monastery, thus the translation of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* was done there, while at the Biankong monastery, a palace chapel only the opening ceremony was held.[77]

The earlier translation contained eight assemblies and 34 chapters while the new text had nine assemblies and 39 chapters. Despite the fact that Śikṣānanda's translation is far longer than Buddhabhadra's, the part in which Mañjuśrī touches Sudhana's head from a distance has been omitted here as well. As noted earlier, this part was also missing in the sixty-fascicle version; Divākara filled the gap on the basis of the Sanskrit *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* manuscript, which he had brought with him. Fazang completed the eighty-fascicle version with the part that had been omitted.[78]

Śikṣānanda returned to Khotan in 704 to visit his sick mother. He returned to China at the request of Emperor Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 684, 705–710) in 708. He died in 710 at

73 T 295.

74 For these added parts in the text of Taishō edition, see T 278: 9.765a3–767b28; 783b28–c15.

75 For an English translation of the work, see Cleary 1993; for a Japanese translation, see Etō 1929, revised by Itō Zuiei 伊藤瑞叡 1959, reprint 1980.

76 Li 2000: 66.

77 Chen 2004.

78 Huiyuan, a disciple of Fazang's, provides a report on this. See *Xu huayan lüeshu kanding ji* 續華嚴略疏刊定記, XZJ 5.49a1–12.

the age of 59. According to his biography, after he was cremated his tongue remained and was sent back to Khotan. In his honour, a seven-storey pagoda was erected outside the northern gate of Chang'an and was named "the Pagoda of the Huayan Tripiṭaka Master" (*huayan sanzang ta* 華嚴三藏塔).[79]

The Forty-Fascicle *Huayan jing*

The king of the southern Indian state of Oḍḍiyāna sent a Sanskrit manuscript of the forty-fascicle *Huayan jing* to Emperor Dezong 德宗 (r. 779–805), which Prajñā (744–810?) translated into Chinese. The master translator was originally from northern India and in his youth studied the Hīnayāna teachings, especially those of the Sarvāstivāda. After his ordination he travelled a great deal and came to know Yogācāra and Tantric Buddhism. He came to China to visit Wutaishan 五台山, which was regarded as the residence of Mañjuśrī.[80] In 781 he came to Guangzhou. He went on to Chang'an, where he was treated with great respect and enjoyed the support of the emperor. He began the translation on the fifth day of the sixth month [13 July] of 796 and completed it on the twenty-fourth day of the second month [16 March] of 798. He was assisted by the fourth patriarch of the Huayan school, Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839).[81] This version, which is called the forty-fascicle *Huayan jing*,[82] contains all the parts which are missing from the last chapter of the sixty- and eighty-fascicle recensions.

Of particular interest in this regard is the last fascicle, which includes *The Vow of Samantabhadra* (*Bhadracarī-praṇidhānarāja-gāthā, Puxian xingyuan pin* 普賢行願品). This text was first translated by Buddhabhadra as a separate work under the title *Wenshu shili fayuan jing* 文殊師利發願經;[83] it is shorter than the later translations. The second translation was prepared by the famous Tantric master, Amoghavajra (705–774), under the title *Puxian pusa xingyuan zan* 普賢菩薩行願贊.[84] Bart Dessein compared the three versions and came to the conclusion that Amoghavajra had changed the title of the work and that Prajñā had adopted this change from him.[85]

This seems to be contradicted by the fact that the titles of the Sanskrit version and of the two Tibetan translations (one of them as part of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, the other as a separate work) would all include the name Samantabhadra. It is therefore more likely, that the "Mañjuśrī" of the title of Buddhabhadra's text was changed to Samantabhadra in India.

79 For his biography, see *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T 2061: 50.718c19–719a17.
80 For the connection between Mañjuśrī and Wutaishan, see Birnbaum 1983.
81 For a critical biography, see Hamar 2002.
82 T 293.
83 T 296.
84 T 297.
85 Dessein 2003: 327–329.

The Sanskrit Version

It is clear from the foregoing that according to our sources both the sixty- and eighty-fascicle versions of the *Huayan jing* were translated into Chinese based on Sanskrit manuscripts (*fanben* 梵本) from Khotan. This indicates that this work enjoyed enormous popularity in this area and may even have been compiled there.[86] Unfortunately, the Sanskrit manuscript has not survived. According to ŌNISHI Ryūhō, however, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* never in fact existed in Inner Asia.[87] Zhi Faling did not bring one work with him called the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, but a number of *sūtra*s which Buddhabhadra compiled and named the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. Śikṣānanda in turn attempted to collect similar works based on the Buddhabhadra version, and this gave rise to the Sanskrit manuscript which served as the basis for the eighty-fascicle translation.

This appears to be contradicted by a report by the second patriarch of the Huayan tradition, Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668, not to be confused with Zhiyan 智嚴 mentioned above) on a Sanskrit manuscript that could be found in the Dacien 大慈恩 monastery.[88] He provides a precise description: it consisted of 541 pages with 55 syllables (*zi* 字) in one line and twenty lines on one leaf. One *śloka* (*song* 頌) consisted of 32 syllables.[89] He counted 2280 (?) syllables on the two sides of one leaf and making a total of 1,323,480 syllables according to his count, or 41,980 *śloka*s plus ten syllables. Zhiyan's count is not accurate because if his calculations are based on 2280 syllables per page then the total should be only 1,233,480 syllables, which, when divided by 32, gives us 38,546 *śloka*s and eight syllables. However, if we count 2200 syllables per leaf, this gives us 1,190,200 syllables and therefore makes 37,193 *śloka*s and 24 syllables. If we use this last count, the Sanskrit version is not much longer than the sixty-fascicle version, which consists of 36,000 *śloka*s. Zhiyan lists the chapters of the Sanskrit version as well, to be examined further on.

The next question is how this Sanskrit manuscript came to be in the Dacien monastery. We may consider the option that the manuscript used by Buddhabhadra or a copy of it found its way here. However, due to the distance both spatial and temporal as well as the significant differences in the arrangement of the chapters, there is little likelihood of this. According to SANADA Ariyoshi, Xuanzang 玄奘 (600–664) might have brought the Sanskrit *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* with him from his pilgrimage since the Dacien monastery featured prominently in his life.[90] Here he also translated a short *Huayan sūtra*, which I will discuss below.

86 During this period in Inner Asia, Sanskrit was used as the ecclesiastical language and Sanskrit texts were not translated into local vernaculars. It is likely that works were also composed in Sanskrit. See Nattier 1990: 195–219.

87 Ōnishi 1985.

88 *Huayan jing nei zhangmen deng za kongmu zhang* 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目章, T 1871: 45.588 a13–589b13.

89 This corresponds to the traditional Indian number of syllables in a *śloka*. See Monier-Williams 1899: 1104.

90 Sanada 1949: 48–50.

As I noted previously, a part was missing from the last chapter of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, which was later translated by Divākara with the assistance of Fazang. Fazang wrote that he and Divākara had jointly examined the various Indian versions (*tianzhu zhuben* 天竺諸本), the Kunlun version (*kunlun ben* 崑崙本) and the independent version from Khotan (*yutian biexing ben* 于闐別行本), and that they had found that the parts that were missing from the sixty-fascicle version could be found in all of them.[91] We can conclude from this mention of the "independent version from Khotan" and the fact that we know that Divākara had brought the *Gaṇḍavyūha* with him that they compared the last chapter of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing* with the independent *sūtra*.[92]

Like Zhiyan, Fazang also mentions that Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* could be found in the Dacien monastery: "I recently saw in the pagoda of the Dacien monastery three versions of the Sanskrit *Buddhāvataṃsaka-[sūtra]*. I briefly compared all of them with the Chinese version and they were largely identical; the numbers of *śloka*s were also similar."

近於大慈恩寺塔上見梵本華嚴有三部。 略勘並與此漢本大同。 頌數亦相似。[93]

Partial Translations after the Translation of Larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*

The chapters translated after the eighty-fascicle translation was completed raise several questions. The third patriarch of the Huayan school, Fazang, who was himself involved in the translation of the eighty-fascicle version, compared the final translation with the Sanskrit manuscript and found that the *Teaching of Samantabhadra* chapter was missing from the Chinese version even though it was part of the Sanskrit original.[94] At the same time, the translator of the eighty-fascicle work also translated this *sūtra* under the title *Dafangguang puxian suo shuo jing* 大方廣普賢所說經. The question therefore is why Śikṣānanda omitted this chapter from the *Huayan jing*. The chapter can also be found in the Tibetan translation prepared in the ninth century under the title *Kun-tu bzang-pos bstan-pa*. It is thus conceivable that the Sanskrit version to which Fazang had access was close to the version used by the Tibetan translators.

After the translation of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, one of the greatest translators of Chinese Buddhism, Xuanzang, translated a short *Huayan sūtra* entitled *Xian wubian fotu gongde jing* 顯無邊佛土功德經, corresponding to chapter twenty-six of

91 HTJ T 1733: 35.484c9–15.

92 According to Li Huiying, it is not clear whether the text in question is the entire *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* or only the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, although the phrase "freestanding version" suggests that it was only the *Gaṇḍavyūha* that was compared with the last chapter of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*. See Li 2000: 70–71.

93 HTJ T 1733: 35.122b24–25.

94 HZ 2073: 51.156a20.

the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, *Life-span* (*Shouming pin* 壽命品). The same chapter was also translated by Dharmabhadra in 1001 under the title *Foshuo jiaoliang yiqie fosha gongde jing* 佛說較量一切佛刹功德經. It is interesting that two independent Tibetan translations of this short work have also survived.[95] In this text, "Consciousness-King Bodhisattva" relates that one *kalpa* in our world corresponds to one day in the world of Amitābha, and that one *kalpa* in the world of Amitābha corresponds to one day in the next world. This last world where beings therefore live the longest is the Lotus-womb world, which is the pure realm extolled by the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra.* The popularity of the *sūtra* can be explained in part by the growth of the Amitābha-cult in the Tang period and in part by the cult associated with Huayan Buddhism. The importance of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* is demonstrated by the fact that, after the partial translations of the previous era and after the translation of the larger works, Śīladharma translated it once more in 799 under the title *Foshuo shidi jing* 佛說十地經.

The Tibetan version

In addition to the sixty- and eighty-fascicle Chinese translations, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* has survived in a Tibetan translation. It is not known how the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* arrived in Tibet, but since the Tibetans enjoyed active ties with Khotan the manuscript could have been brought from there.[96] The complete *Buddhāvataṃsaka* makes up a section of the *Bka'-'gyur* called *Phal-chen*. The Tibetan title of the *sūtra* is *Sangs-rgyas phal-po-che zhes bya-ba shin-tu rgyas-pa chen-po'i mdo.*[97] On the basis of this, the Sanskrit title is reconstructed as *Buddhāvataṃsaka nāma mahāvaipulya sūtra*. In the Derge recension of the Tibetan Canon the work fills four volumes. Each volume is divided into *bam-po*s,[98] with the *bam-po* numbering beginning anew with each volume. At the end of each *bam-po*, the work is referred to by the following title: *Sangs-rgyas rmad gcad ces bya-ba shin-tu rgyas-pa'i mdo.*[99] According to the *Ldan-kar* catalogue compiled during the time of King Khri-srong-lde-brtsan (754–797), the work consists of 45 chapters and 39,030 *śloka*s. This makes 130 complete *bam-po*s and 30 *śloka*s. It is not difficult to calculate that one *bam-po*

95 P 772, 934. For their titles, see below.

96 Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan (704–754) had a Chinese wife, who interceded for the monks who had fled in large numbers from Khotan. It is owing to this that they were able to settle here and that seven monasteries were built for them. Three years later, however, after the death of the queen, they were driven out. See Snellgrove 1986: 77.

97 P 761.

98 One *bam-po* consists of 300 *śloka*s. See Lalou 1953: 313–314. The works in the catalogue prepared during the reign of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan were arranged by number of *bam-po*s, in descending order. The origin of the term *bam-po* must be sought in Chinese as Indian tradition knows no such division. See Skilling 1997: 92.

99 This is the old Tibetan title for the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. See *Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo* 1985: II. p. 1711.

consists of 300 *śloka*s. The colophon of the Derge edition states that the Tshal-pa edition of this *sūtra* is divided into 115 *bam-po*s, and current editions have different way of division. It is worth noting that this division is similar to the manner in which Zhiyan measured the length of the Sanskrit manuscript.[100] The Tibetan translation was prepared in the first quarter of the ninth century by two Indian scholars, Jinamitra and Surendrabodhi, in collaboration with the Tibetan master-editor Ye-shes-sde. The work consists of 45 chapters (*le 'u*), and the bodhisattvas gather on nine occasions in seven places. According to the catalogue prepared by Qing Jixiang 慶吉祥 between 1285 and 1287, *Zhiyuan fabao kantong zonglu* 至元法寶勘同總錄, the Tibetan translation was based on the Chinese version.[101] However, the Tibetan translation contains two chapters which cannot be found in any of the Chinese translations; it is therefore more likely that the Tibetan translation was made from a Sanskrit text.[102] This is supported by the fact that we know that Jinamitra and Surendrabodhi translated from Sanskrit, not Chinese.[103]

The colophon of the Derge edition sheds a certain degree of light on the issue. First of all, it states that the number of *bam-po*s differs in the various editions. It mentions two lines of tradition: one Chinese, the other Indian. In the Chinese line, the teaching went from Buddha to Mañjuśrī and then to Nāgārjuna. Buddhabhadra (*paṇḍita* Byang-chub bzang-po) and Śikṣānanda (*paṇḍita* Dga'-ba) subsequently translated it into Chinese. The text was later passed on by Thu-thu-zhun hwashang, and then Sangs-rgyas-'bum of Dbus obtained the teaching from Gying-ju hwashang. This tradition has survived thanks to outstanding translators. The Indian line of tradition is as follows: the teaching came from Buddha to Nāgārjuna, then to Āryadeva and later to 'Jam-dpal-grags-pa. The teaching was received by a contemporary of Milarepa's (1040–1123), Bari lo-tsaba (1040–1111), from Rdo-rje-gdan-pa and later by the great Sa-skya-pa (1092–1158) from Mchims-brtson-seng.

Partial translations survive in *Bka'-'gyur*s, where they are not classed under *Phalchen* but, with one exception, under *Mdo sna-tshogs* "Miscellaneous *Sūtra*". As men-

100 Lalou 1953: 319.

101 T 99.190b.

102 This confirms my own research in which I have compared the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Appearance of the Tathāgata Sūtra*. The Tibetan version contains an introductory section which cannot be found in any of the Chinese translations, except for that by Dharmarakṣa. The Chinese translators presumably left out this introductory section, if it was not already missing from the version that they used. Professor ARAMAKI Noritoshi, who examined the various versions of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* as the work was being translated into Japanese, also concluded that this chapter had been translated from Sanskrit (personal communication).

103 The list of translators from Sanskrit to Tibetan in the *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gnyis-pa* opens with Jinamitra and Surendrabodhi. For the relevant Tibetan text and its translation, see Scherrer-Schaub 1999. Bu-ston writes that King Ral-pa-can (r. 815–836) ordered Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Ye-shes-sde and other masters to translate Buddhist texts into Tibetan directly from Sanskrit because the words, or terminology, had been variously rendered in translations from Chinese and other languages, thus making it difficult to study the teaching. See Obermiller 1931: 196–197. For Jinamitra, see also Skilling 1997, chapter 4.

tioned above, there are two translations of the *Life-span* chapter: *Enumeration of the Virtues of Buddha-lands of Tathāgatas* (*'Phags-pa de-bzhin gshegs-pa-rnams-kyi sangs-rgyas-kyi zhing-gi yon-tan brjod-pa'i rnam-grangs*)[104] and *The King-sūtra which Cannot Be Grasped by Thoughts* (*'Phags-pa bsam-gyis mi khyab-pa'i rgyal-po'i mdo zhes bya-ba theg-pa chen-po'i mdo*).[105] According to the Derge edition, the former was translated by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-shes-sde.[106] The translators of the latter work are unknown.[107]

The *Inconceivable Teaching of Buddha Sūtra* (*Sangs-rgyas-kyi chos bsam-gyis mi khyab-pa bstan-pa*),[108] which is also a part of the translation of larger *Buddhāvatamsaka-sūtra*, where it has the same title. The names of the translators have not survived, but the colophon says the following: "Chapter twenty-nine of the *Large Ear Ornament Sūtra*[109] consisting of one hundred thousand chapters is *The Teaching of Buddha which Cannot Be Grasped by Thought* (*Snyan-gyi gong-rgyan rgyas-pa chen-po'i mdo le'u 'bum-pa-las sangs-rgyas-kyi chos bsam-gyis mi khyab-pa bstan-pa'i le'u nyi-shu dgu-pa*)".[110] In fact, this chapter is not the twenty-ninth in the Tibetan translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, but the thirty-ninth. Bu-ston (1290–1364) writes that the entire Buddhist canon has not survived and that many parts have been lost. He cites the example of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, which had originally consisted of 100,000 chapters, of which only forty survived.[111] This report is surprising because the Tibetan translation consists of forty-five chapters. The 100,000 chapters (*le'u*) probably refers to the 100,000 *śloka*s. As mentioned earlier, according to legend, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* which Nāgārjuna brought out of the palace of serpents contained 100,000 *śloka*s. It is interesting to note that this version is close to the sixty-fascicle Chinese version, while the version in the larger work is close to the eighty-fascicle work.[112] This chapter is the twenty-eighth in the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, so it is possible that this independent Tibetan translation is part of another, presumably earlier Tibetan translation of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, which might have been based on this recension of the *Huayan jing*.

The King of the Prayer of Outstanding Acts (*'Phags-pa bzang-po spyod-pa'i smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po*),[113] which is a translation of *Bhadracarī-praṇidhānarāja-gāthā*, can be found in the *Rgyud* (*Tantra*) section of *Bka-'gyur*. Unlike the two larger Chinese translations, the larger Tibetan translation also contains this work.

104 P 772.
105 P 934.
106 *A Comparative Analytical Catalogue* 1930–1932: 276.
107 Ibid., 363. For this paper I refer only to the Peking and Derge Kanjurs or their catalogues. Further details about the translation or translators may be found in other Kanjurs or recensions of the text, but I leave this task for future research.
108 P 854.
109 This is the old Tibetan title for the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. *Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo* 1985: II. p. 1711.
110 P 208: 34.200b5–6.
111 Obermiller 1931: 169.
112 *A Comparative Analytical Catalogue* 1930–1932: 330.
113 P 716.

Comparing the chapters in the various versions

Although no Sanskrit version of a "complete" *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* has survived, Zhiyan recorded the Chinese translations of the Sanskrit chapter titles in his commentary.[114] We are thus afforded an opportunity to compare the arrangements of the chapters in one Sanskrit, two Chinese and one Tibetan versions. The number of chapters differs: the sixty-fascicle *sūtra* is divided into thirty-four chapters, the eighty-fascicle work contains thirty-nine, the Tibetan translation has forty-five and the Sanskrit "original" – according to Zhiyan's report – into forty-four.[115] The discrepancy can be traced back to two causes. Firstly, some chapters were omitted from certain versions. Thus, for example, Chapter 11 of the Tibetan translation, *The Garlands of Tathāgata*, and Chapter 32, *The Speech by Samantabhadra*, are missing from all other versions; while the *Ten Concentrations* chapter is found only in the eighty-fascicle and Tibetan texts. Secondly, the text is divided into chapters in different ways and thus the chapter titles also differ. Chapter 2 of the sixty-fascicle Chinese text, *Vairocana Buddha*, for instance, makes up five separate chapters in the eighty-fascicle version, whereas it makes up nine chapters in the Tibetan and "Sanskrit" versions. The last chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*, is uniquely divided into three chapters in the Sanskrit version. Another difference is that the same chapter may have a different title in different versions. For example, Chapter 1 bears the title *The Eye that Sees the World Clearly* in the sixty-fascicle and Sanskrit versions, whereas it has the title *The Wondrous Ornaments of the Lord of the World* in the eighty-fascicle and Tibetan versions.

On examining the arrangements of the chapters, therefore, we find that the Tibetan and Sanskrit versions are similar. On the basis of these findings, it can be concluded that the Tibetan recension, which contains two additional chapters not found in the other two recensions, represents the fourth and last stage of development of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, whereas the eighty-fascicle Chinese recension, which contains one more chapter than the Sanskrit and the sixty-fascile recensions, is the third stage.

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114 *Huayan jing nei zhangmen deng za kongmu zhang* 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目章, T 1871: 45.588a21–c14.

115 For a detailed comparison of the various versions, see Kimura 1992: 4–10.

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Appendix

Comparative table of chapters of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*

Sanskrit (Zhiyan's report)	Buddhabhadra (T 278)	Śikṣānanda (T 279)	Tibetan (P 761)	Partial extant Chinese and Tibetan
(1) 世間淨眼品	(1) 世間淨眼品	(1) 世主妙嚴品	(1) 'jig-rten-gyi dbang-po thams-cad-kyi rgyan-gyi tshul rab-tu byung-ba	
(2) 如來品	(2) 盧舍那佛品	(2) 如來現相品	(2) de-bzhin gshegs-pa	
(3) 普賢菩薩修行入三摩提品		(3) 普賢三昧品	(3) kun-tu bzang-po'i ting-nge-'dzin dang rnam-par 'phrul-pa rab-tu 'byung-ba	
(4) 說入世界海品		(4) 世界成就品	(4) 'jig-rten-gyi khams rgya-mtsho shin-tu bstan-pa'i phyogs gsal-bar bya-ba yang-dag par bsgrubs-pa	
(5) 淨世界海功德海光明品		(5) 華藏世界品	(5) 'jig-rten-gyi khams rgya-mtsho gzhi dang snying-po me-tog-gi rgyan-gyis brgyan-pa'i yon-tan rgya-mtsho yongs-su dag-pas snang-ba	

Sanskrit (Zhiyan's report)	**Buddhabhadra (T 278)**	**Śikṣānanda (T 279)**	**Tibetan (P 761)**	**Partial extant Chinese and Tibetan**
(6) 世界輪圍莊嚴海品			(6) 'jig-rten-gyi khams rgya-mtsho'i khor yug-gi rgyan rgya-mtsho shin-tu bstan-pa	
(7) 說世界海莊嚴地品			(7) jig-rten-gyi khams rgya-mtsho'i sa'i gzhi'i rgyan shin-tu bstan-pa	
(8) 觀世界性處品			(8) zhing-gi rgyud-kyi gnas shin-tu bstan-pa	
(9) 觀世界處安住音聲品			(9) 'jig-rten-gyi khams-kyi rgyud rnam-par dgod-pa shin-tu bstan-pa	
(10) 毘盧舍那品		(6) 毘盧遮那品	(10) nam-par snang-mdzad	
			(11) de-bzhin gshegs-pa phal-po che	
(11) 如來名稱品	(3) 如來名號品	(7) 如來名號品	(12) sangs-rgyas-kyi mtshan shin-tu bstan-pa	佛說兜沙經 T 280: 10.445a5–446a15. 佛說菩薩本業經 T 281: 10.446b28–447a18.
(12) 四諦品	(4) 四諦品	(8) 四聖諦品	(13) 'phags-pa'i bden-pa	

Sanskrit (Zhiyan's report)	**Buddhabhadra (T 278)**	**Śikṣānanda (T 279)**	**Tibetan (P 761)**	**Partial extant Chinese and Tibetan**
(13) 如來光明熾然覺品	(5) 如來光明覺 品	(9) 光明覺品	(14) de-bzhin gshegs-pa'i 'od-zer-las rnam-par sangs-rgyas	佛說兜沙經 T 280: 10.446a15–b9. 佛說菩薩本業經 T 281: 10.447a19–b4.
(14) 菩薩明難品	(6) 菩薩明難品	(10) 菩薩問明品	(15) byang-chub sems-dpas dris-pa snang-ba	
(15) 圓淨行品	(7) 淨行品	(11) 淨行品	(16) spyod-yul yongs-su dag-pa	佛說菩薩本業經 T 281: 10.447b6–449 b23. 諸菩薩求佛本業經 T 282: 10.451a6–454 a7.
(16) 賢勝品	(8) 賢首菩薩品	(12) 賢首品	(17) bzang-po'i dpal	
(17) 須彌頂入如來品	(9) 佛昇須彌頂品	(13) 昇須彌山頂品	(18) de-bzhin gshegs-pa ri-rab-kyi rtse-mor gshegs-pa	佛說菩薩本業經 T 281: 10.449b25–29. 諸菩薩求佛本業經 T 282: 10.454a8–20.

Sanskrit (Zhiyan's report)	Buddhabhadra (T 278)	Śikṣānanda (T 279)	Tibetan (P 761)	Partial extant Chinese and Tibetan
(18) 須彌頂如來作菩薩集說偈品	(10) 菩薩雲集妙勝殿上說偈品	(14) 須彌頂上偈讚品	(19) ri rab-kyi rtse-mo de-bzhin gshegs-pa'i rnam-par 'phrul-pa dang byang-chub sems-dpa'i tshogs-kyi tshigs-su bcad-pa	佛說菩薩本業經 T 281: 10.449b29–c4. 諸菩薩求佛本業經 T 282: 10.454a20–26.
(19) 十菩薩說住品	(11) 菩薩十住品	(15) 十住品	(20) byang-chub sems-dpa'i rnam-par dgod-pa bcu bstan-pa	佛說菩薩本業經 T 281: 10.449c4–450c25. 菩薩十住行道品 T 283. 佛說菩薩十住經 T 284.
(20) 梵行品	(12) 梵行品	(16) 梵行品	(21) tshangs-par spyod-pa	
(21) 說初發心菩薩功德花聚喻偈品	(13) 初發心菩薩功德品	(17) 初發心功德品	(22) byang-chub sems-dpa' sems dang-po bskyed-pa'i bsod-nams-kyi phung-po'i dpe yang-dag-par bsags-pa tshigs bcad-pa	
(22) 明法品	(14) 明法品	(18) 明法品	(23) chos snang-ba	
(23) 蘇夜摩富作品	(15) 佛昇夜摩天宮自在品	(19) 昇夜摩天宮品	(24) ran mtshe-ma'i gnas-na rnam-par 'phrul-ba	諸菩薩求佛本業經 T 282: 10.454a8–20.

Sanskrit (Zhiyan’s report)	Buddhabhadra (T 278)	Śikṣānanda (T 279)	Tibetan (P 761)	Partial extant Chinese and Tibetan
(24) 蘇夜摩富菩薩集說偈品	(16) 夜摩天宮菩薩說偈品	(20) 夜摩宮中偈讚品	(25) rab mtshe-ma’i gnas-su byang-chub sems-dpa’i ’dus-pas tshigs-su bcad-pa bstan-pa	
(26) 十無盡藏品	(18) 菩薩十無盡藏品	(22) 十無盡藏品	(27) gter mi zad-pa bcu bstan-pa	
(27) 如來昇入兜率陀 天品	(19) 如來昇兜率天宮一切寶殿品	(23) 昇兜率天宮品	(28) de-bzhin gshegs-pa dga’-ldan-du bzhud-pa dang gshegs-pa dang bzhugs-pa’i rgyan	
(28) 兜率宮菩薩來說 偈品	(20) 兜率天宮菩薩雲集讚佛品	(24) 兜率宮中偈讚品	(29) dga’-ldan-gyi gnas-su byang-chub sems-dpa’ ’dus-pa’i tshigs-su bcad-pa bstan-pa	
(29) 金剛幢迴向品	(21) 金剛幢菩薩十迴向品	(25) 十迴向品	(30) rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan-gyis yongs-su bsngo-ba	

Sanskrit (Zhiyan's report)	Buddhabhadra (T 278)	Śikṣānanda (T 279)	Tibetan (P 761)	Partial extant Chinese and Tibetan
(30) 十地品	(22) 十地品	(26) 十地品	(31) sa bcu	漸備一切智德經 T 285. 十住經 T 286. 佛說十地經 T 287.
			(32) kun-tu bzang-pos bstan-pa	大方廣普賢所說經 T 298.
		(27) 十定品	(33) ting-nge-'dzin bcu	等目菩薩所問三昧經 T 288.
(31) 神通品	(23) 十明品	(28) 十通品	(34) mngon-par shes-pa	
(32) 忍辱品	(24) 十忍品	(29) 十忍品	(35) bzod-pa	佛說如來興顯經 T 291: 10.614b15–617b7.
(33) 心王問算教入品	(25) 心王菩薩問阿僧祇品	(30) 阿僧祇品	(36) sems-kyis rgyal-pos dris-nas grags-la 'jug-pa bstan	

Sanskrit (Zhiyan's report)	Buddhabhadra (T 278)	Śikṣānanda (T 279)	Tibetan (P 761)	Partial extant Chinese and Tibetan
(34) 壽量品	(26) 壽命品	(31) 壽量品	(37) tshe'i tshad	顯無邊佛土功德經 T 289. 佛說較量一切佛刹功德經 T 290. De-bzhin gshegs-pa-rnams-kyi sangs-rgyas-gi yon-tan brjod-pa'i rnam-grangs P 772. Bsam-gyis mi khyab-pa'i rgyal-po'i mdo P 934.
(36) 說佛法不思議品	(28) 佛不思議法品	(33) 佛不思議法品	(39) sangs-rgyas-kyi chos bsam-gyis mi khyab-pa bstan-pa	Sangs-rgyas-kyi chos bsam-gyis mi khyab-pa bstan-pa P 854.
(37) 說如來十身相海品	(29) 如來相海品	(34) 如來十身相海品	(40) de-bzhin gshegs-pa'i sku'i mtshan rgya-mtsho bstan-pa	
(38) 小種好光明說功 德門品	(30) 佛小相光明功德品	(35) 如來隨好光明功德品	(41) dpe-byad bzang-po'i 'od-zer bstan-pa	
(39) 說普賢菩薩行品	(31) 普賢菩薩行品	(36) 普賢行品	(42) kun-tu bzang-po'i spyod-pa bstan-pa	

Sanskrit (Zhiyan's report)	Buddhabhadra (T 278)	Śikṣānanda (T 279)	Tibetan (P 761)	Partial extant Chinese and Tibetan
(40) 說如來性起品	(32) 寶王如來性起品	(37) 如來出現品	(43) de-bzhin gshegs-pa skye-ba 'byung-ba bstan-pa	佛說如來興顯經 T 291: 10.592c6–614b14.
(41) 出世間品	(33) 離世間品	(38) 離世間品	(44) 'jig-rten-las 'das-pa	度世品經 T 292.
(42 善財離貪藏品 (43) 彌勒離貪名善財 所問品 (44) 說如來功德不思議境界上境界入品	(34) 入法界品	(39) 入法界品	(45) sdong-pos brgyan-pa	大方廣佛華嚴經 T 293. 佛說羅摩伽經 T 294. 大方廣佛華嚴經入法界品 T 295. 文殊師利發願經 T 296. 普賢菩薩行願贊 T 297. 'Phags-pa bzang-po spyod-pa'i smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po P 716.

ARAMAKI NORITOSHI

THE HUAYAN TRADITION IN ITS EARLIEST PERIOD

It is widely known that the Sino-Japanese tradition of Huayan/Kegon 華嚴 philosophy and practice started in Southern Dynasties (420–589) with the translation of the *Huayan jing* in 60 fascicles by a translation team led by a Gandhāran meditation master, Buddhabhadra (Fotuobatuoluo 佛陀跋陀羅) from the 14th year of Yixi 義熙 period of Eastern Jin (418) through the 2nd year of Yongchu 永初 period of Liu Song (421). However, has anybody been able to trace the earliest transmission of this tradition to Northern Dynasties (386–581) on the basis of any historical evidence?

Here, in this paper[1] I would like to draw the readers' attention to the cardinal importance of some historiographical and archeological evidence for elucidating the beginning of Huayan tradition in Northern Dynasties and understanding its philosophical and religious characteristics. The evidence I have gathered so far, represents three stages of development as follows:

1. The biography of Xuangao 玄高 (402–444) in *Liang gaoseng zhuan* 梁高僧傳[2] and the cave 169 of Binglingsi cave (*Binglingsi shiku* 炳靈寺石窟)

The episode transmitted in Xuangao's biography that the Gandhāran meditation master Buddhabhadra came to Chang'an to teach him the (*huayan*) *samādhi* around 421 C. E., must be accepted as a historical fact and as evidence of the earliest trans-

1 The present paper is intended to take a bird's eye view of the historical development of Huayan philosophical and practical tradition in Northen Dynasties. Since this historical development has as yet scarcely been understood due to the scanty remnants of its textual transmission, every proposition in the following lines may need to be corroborated in greater details for which I must refer either to my previuosly published Japanese papers or to my future undertakings. Aramaki 2000 is an attempt to remedy this defect by showing that Dunhuang manuscripts comprise a substantial number of the important documents of Buddhism under the Northern Dynasties. Aramaki 2003 is also an attempt to indicate the importance of Xuangao's Buddhism in the earlier half of Northern Wei Dynasty through elucidating his connection with Gao Yun 高允, the most respected political leader of the period. I am planning to write a paper to explain the fundamental historical developments of Buddhist philosophy and practice from Northern Dynasties to Sui and early Tang.

2 T 2059: 50.397a–398b, esp. 397a21–397c4.

mission of this tradition to Northern Dynasties. The oldest wall paintings in the cave 169 of Binglingsi cave dated to the 5th year of Jianhong 建弘 period (425), record the name of Daorong 道融 (???–??) twice, who is one of the most eminent disciples of Kumārajīva and is also known as the first transmitter of the bodhisattva *śīla sūtra*, the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經,[3] to the South. Where did Daorong receive the *Fanwang jing* or even participate in its composition? We can surmise that not earlier than their receiving the bodhisattva *śīla* practice of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* translated in Guzang 姑臧 in the 7th year of Xuanshi 玄始 period (418), the two leaders, Xuangao with his *huayan samādhi*, and Daorong with his Mahāyānistic meditative practice in accordance with the *Chengshi lun* 成實論,[4] cooperated there at Binglingsi cave to produce this fundamental apocryphal *sūtra* of bodhisattva *śīla* practice, the *Fanwang jing*.

2. The biography of Zhidan 智誕 in *Liang gaoseng zhuan*[5] and the Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2908.

SAKAMOTO Yukio 坂本幸男,[6] one of the greatest Huayan scholars in Japan, has established that the Dharma teacher Dan 誕 who is said to be the first promulgator of the classification of Buddha's teachings into two categories, the sudden teaching (*dunjiao* 頓教) and the gradual teaching (*jianjiao* 漸教), is Huidan 慧誕, who is quoted eight times in the Southern work known under the name *The Collected Commentaries on the Mahāyāna Nirvāṇa-sūtra* (*Daban niepan jing jijie* 大般涅槃經集解).[7] I think that this Huidan can be identified as the one time Southern and other time Northern monk, Zhidan, because we now have the Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2908 which is a Northern commentorial work on various Mahāyāna *sūtra*s and its explicit purpose is to promulgate the classification of Buddha's teachings into two categories: the sudden and the gradual. Here, in this manuscript *Huayan jing* is regarded as the sudden teachings taught simultaneously by the exponent bodhisattvas within one and the same moment of Buddha's awakening, while all the other five classes of his teachings are the gradual teaching advocated gradually from the expediently Hīnayānistic to the more and more essentially Mahāyānistic.

3. The Dazhusheng 大住聖 cave and the epitaph of Lingyou 靈祐 at Baoshansi 寶山寺 in Hebei 河北.

The final stage of the Huayan tradition in Northern Dynasties is eloquently represented by the exquisitely completed Vairocana Buddha image with Amitābha on its Western and Maitreya Buddha images on its Eastern side wall and by the minutely hewn wall-carvings on the backside of the entrance to the Dazhusheng cave[8]

3 T 1484.
4 T 1646.
5 T 2059: 50.379c17–20; 472a18–22.
6 Sakamoto 1956: 161 ff.
7 T 1763.
8 The rubbing of the relief of the twenty four Indian patriarchs was published as the plate 13 of "Henan Anyang Lingquansi shiku ji Xiaonanhai shiku" *Wenwu*, 1988-4.

which was built at the Southern edge of the Taixing 太行 mountains near Northern Qi (550–577) capital, Ye 業, by Lingyou, the leading monk of the time. In his epitaph standing by the side of his tomb nearby he is declared to be the fourth patriarch of Dharma lineage in China in continuation to the twenty four patriarchs in India: 1. Ratnamati (Lenamoti) 勒那摩提 (??–??), 2. Huiguang 慧光 (??–??) 3. Daoping 道憑 (??–??) and 4. Lingyou 靈祐. Why didn't Huayan teachers of the Tang Dynasty (618–907) continue this older lineage of their own tradition, while Tiantai 天台 teachers and both Northern and Southern schools of Chan adopted parallel lineages in continuation to the same twenty four patriarchs in India? This is, I suspect, not unrelated with their religious limitation.

Now, how can we explain that the three stages of historiographical and archeological evidence enumerated so far, indeed defined the philosophical and religious characteristics of Huayan tradition? Next, I try to delineate, in the barest gist, the origin of Huayan practice in Xuangao's *huayan samādhi* (§ 1), its philosophical foundation on Zhidan's sudden teaching (§ 2) and its religious limitation in Lingyou's eschatological awareness (Conclusion).

1. Huayan Tradition: the Origin of Its Practice in Xuangao's *Huayan Samādhi*

The fundamental historical fact which Huayan studies have very badly neglected until now, so obvious though, is that the development of Huayan Buddhism is side by side with the art historical development of Vairocana Buddha images, often on a colossal scale, accompanied by the so called 'one thousand Buddha images'. How can we explain, and to what origin can we trace back, this correlation between Vairocana Buddha images accompanied by 'one thousand Buddha images' and the philosophical and religious tradition of Huayan? While still lacking the definitive evidence for proof, I hypothesize that the correlation between Vairocana Buddha images with 'one thousand Buddha images' and the philosophical and religious tradition of Huayan can be traced back to the religious community led by Daorong and Xuangao at Binglingsi cave, and thereafter to Vairocana Buddha images at the Yungang 雲岡 caves. I show how the bodhisattva *śīla sūtra*, the *Fanwang jing*, may have been composed by the cooperation of Daorong and Xuangao at Binglingsi cave with the purpose of establishing the philosophical and religious tradition of Huayan to attain *huayan samādhi* by the inspiration of Vairocana Buddha in his presence there.

There is no doubt that this parallel development of the Vairocana Buddha image with the one thousand Buddha images and the philosophical and religious tradition of Huayan in Northern Dynasties presupposes the transmission and the acceptance of the *Huayan jing* in 60 fascicles among Northern Buddhist leaders. When was this lengthy Mahāyāna *sūtra* transmitted to the North and how was it received there? In order to answer this fundamental question, I think we should pay due attention to the following episode of Xuangao's biography in *Liang gaoseng zhuan* as follows:

After his ordination [at the age 20 (A. D. 421), Xuangao] was earnestly striving to live a strictly disciplined life and to be deeply absorbed in meditation. He heard that the meditation master Buddhabhadra was teaching Buddhist meditative practice at Shiyangsi in Chang'an area. Xuangao visited the master and became his disciple. Within a period of some ten days he accomplished all the techniques of meditation perfectly well. Buddhabhadra praised him by saying, 'Good, good, my dear! So profoundly have you penetrated into meditation.' Thus Buddhabhadra humbled himself and did not let him pay homage.

受戒已後專精禪律。聞關中有浮馱跋陀禪師在石羊寺弘法。高往師之。旬日之中妙通禪法。跋陀歎曰。善哉佛子。乃能深悟如此。於是卑顏推遜不受師禮。[9]

This dramatic encounter and this mutually respectful relationship of Xuangao with Buddhabhadra around the second year of Jianhong 建弘 period (421) implies the possibility that the *Huayan jing* in 60 fascicles, translated by the latter just within the same year, was transmitted directly to Xuangao, and he started to study the scripture in the light of his religious experience. Xuangao at the age 20 or so may appear to be too young to dictate the course of the historical development of Huayan tradition, but his genius in achieving *samādhi* and his historical role in founding Northern Wei 魏 (386–534) Buddhism should prove to be sufficiently fundamental to initiate this primarily Northern development of Huayan tradition. Into which way did he direct the Northern development of Huayan tradition?

Xuangao's biography after this dramatic encounter (around 421) can be summarized by a chronological table as follows:

421–422? He retreated from the devastating wars in the capital area to the Maijishan 麦積山 caves in Tianshui 天水 and there he met more than one hundred Buddhist meditators including the eminant disciples of Kumārajīva such as Tanhong 曇弘, Daorong 道融, etc. He became their leader in meditative practice.

422?–424 He proceeded westwards to Qifochipan's 乞佛熾槃 Southern Qin 秦 (with its capital at Fuhan 枹罕 in order to learn more about the technique of *samādhi* from the meditation master Tanwupi 曇無毘 there. After he had mastered Tanwupi's technique, at the moment of the latter's departure he was involved in a political scandal caused by two pseudo-monks who accused Xuangao of intending to overthrow the prince. He was expelled by the prince from his territory. He crossed the Yellow River to the other (Northern) shore where the Binglingsi cave temple is found. The oldest cave, no. 169, was found by a Chinese archeological team. The original sculptures and wall-paintings with the inscriptions of the leading monks headed by Tanwupi, Daorong, etc. were preserved. It is dated to the 5th year of Jianhong period (424). The western wall with the plastered huge central Buddha (perhaps Vairocana) and many Buddhas in line faces the eastern wall with the painted thousand Buddhas, as if the former Vairocana Buddha were preaching to the latter thousand Buddhas in the *Fanwang jing*. If we assume that the bodhisattva *śīla* text translated in Northern Liang 涼 (401–439) in A. D. 418 was transmitted to this cave area, then it is possible

9 T 2059: 50.397a21–24.

that Xuangao with his *huayan samādhi* and Daorong with his *Chengshi lun* philosophy cooperated here to compose the *Fanwang jing*.

?–439. He moved on with his community further westward to Northern Liang under Juqumengsun 沮渠蒙遜 where Tanwuchen 曇無讖 translated numerous Buddhist *sūtra*s and initiated an ardent movement of ceremonially receiving and observing the bodhisattva *śīla*s. He was invited to this western frontier kingdom after Tanwuchen had been killed around A. D. 433 or before. There is no doubt that in addition to the original Tanwuchen's bodhisattva *śīla*, the practice of bodhisattva *śīla*s according to the *Fanwang jing* were prosperous here. In the fifth year of Taiyan period (A. D. 439) the superpower Northern Wei conquered this frontier kingdom in order to transplant the cultural centre here with Xuangao's new Buddhism and other refugee-nobles' Confucian scholarship back to the capital, Pingcheng 平城. Prior to this conquest, Daorong must have returned to the Southern border city Pengcheng 彭城 with the *Fanwang jing* and other Northern Liang Buddhist texts and began to propagate the bodhisattva *śīla*s of the *Fanwang jing* in the Southern Dynasties.

439–444. The Northern Wei emperor Taiwudi 太武帝 (r. 424–452) proclaimed the Daoist universal sovereignity under the political leadership of Cui Hao 崔浩 (381–450) and the religious guidance of Kou Qianzhi 冦謙之 (363–448). Both the prime minister Cui Hao and the religious master Kou Qianzhi must have been deeply concerned with the increasing religious charisma of Xuangao strongly supported by the other political leader Gao Yun 高允. Prior to the thoroughgoing persecution of Buddhism by the two Daoists (446–450) they emphasized the danger of Buddhist charisma, and advised the emperor to kill Xuangao together with another leading monk Huichong 慧崇. In the fifth year of the Taiping Zhenjun 太平真君 period (444), he was killed at the age 43.

On the basis of these biographical and historical facts centring around the great *samādhi* master Xuangao I may hypothesize that the philosophical and practical development of Huayan tradition in the early period of Northern Wei Dynasty may best be represented by the successive composition of the three fundamentally influential apocryphal *sūtra*s by the hands of the two great Buddhist scholars.

One of the best experts of Chinese apocryphal *sūtra*s, Mochizuki Shinkō,[10] long time ago established that the three apocryphal *sūtra*s:

1) the *Renwang banruo boluomi jing* 仁王般若波羅蜜経[11]

2) the *Fanwang jing* 梵網経[12] and

3) the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業経[13]

were composed in this order with their successive development. Now if the record in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集[14] that it is Daorong who received the *Fanwang*

10 Mochizuki 1946: 425 ff.
11 T 245.
12 T 1484.
13 T 1485.
14 T 2145: 55.79b–c.

jing from Kumārajīva and transmitted it to the posterity, is to be accepted as implying some historical fact, then the working-hypothesis proposed above that Xuangao with his *huayan samādhi* and Daorong with his *Chengshi lun* philosophy might have cooperated to compose the *Fanwang jing* there in the Binglingsi cave temple, becomes an all the more likely possibility and further then I should hypothesize that both of them must have cooperated also in composing the *Renwang banruo boluomi jing* some time earlier before they had any knowledge of the bodhisattva *śīla* movement. As for the composition of the third *sūtra*, the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, I will discuss in §2 below.

Now let me assume that Daorong as one of the most eminent disciples of Kumārajīva and Xuangao as the truely qualified *samādhi* master, indeed, cooperated to found Huayan practical and philosophical tradition through composing the first two *sūtra*s of the three, say, at some earlier and later times before 439 respectively. Then, on this assumption, how can I explain the fundamental motive of the composition of those apocryphal *sūtra*s, especially of the second *Fanwang jing*, by their cooperation?

There is no doubt that the first two apocryphal *sūtra*s are principally concerned with composing a sort of, I should say, hyper-practical bodhisattva path consisting of the five levels of receptivity (*kṣānti*), each of which is further divided into the three sub-levels as the following table of their bodhisattva path may show:

Renwang jing	Fanwang jing	Yingluo jing
	the precepts of Buddha nature 佛性戒 = the bodhisattva śīla of 10 grave and 48 light precepts 十重戒、四十八軽戒	the ten kinds of faith = the ten precepts = the first grade 十信心十不可悔戒
1. the receptivity of latency 伏忍		
1/a the receptivity of faith = the ten kinds of faith by learnt nature 信忍 習種性十信	the solid receptivity of faith = the ten departing minds 堅信忍 十発趣心	the nine grades 九住
1/b the receptivity of concentration = the ten kinds of mind by original nature 止忍 性種性十心	the solid receptivity of truth = the ten nurturing minds 堅法忍 十長養心	the ten practices 十行

Renwang jing	**Fanwang jing**	**Yingluo jing**
1/c the receptivity of solidity = the ten kinds of mind by practiced nature 堅忍 道種性十心		
2. the receptivity of faith 信忍		
2/a the receptivity of good awakening 善覚忍		
2/b the receptivity of liberating penetration 離達忍		
2/c the receptivity of illuminating wisdom 明慧忍		
3. the receptivity of conformity 順忍		
3/a the receptivity of flaming wisdom 焔慧忍	the solid receptivity of practice = the ten kinds of diamond mind 堅修忍 十金剛心	the ten kinds of transference 十回向
3/b the receptivity of superior wisdom 勝慧忍		
3/c the receptivity of truth realization 法現忍		

Renwang jing	Fanwang jing	Yingluo jing
4. the receptivity of unborn truth 無生忍		
4/a the receptivity of remote penetration 遠達忍	the solid receptivity of sacredness = the ten stages of bodhisattva practices 堅聖忍 十地	the ten stages of bodhisattva practices 十地
4/b the receptivity of equanimous awakening 等覚忍		
4/c the receptivity of glorious wisdom 慧光忍		
5 the receptivity of complete peacefulness 寂滅忍		
5/a the receptivity of annointment 潅頂忍		
5/b the receptivity of complete awakening 円覚忍		the stage of immaculation 無垢地
5/c the receptivity of omniscient wisdom 薩婆若		the stage of omniscient awakening 妙覚地

How could I define the fundamental motives underlying the composition of these, so to speak, hyper-practical bodhisattva paths all through the consecutive development of the three apocryphal *sūtra*s? I would like, for the present, to discern the three motives as follows:

1) In the first *Renwang jing* system Daorong and Xuangao must have intended to expand the fundamental religious experience of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism, the receptivity of unborn truth (*anutpattikadharmakṣānti*), into a more practically realizable system of receptivity with the preceding introductory three: the receptivity of

latencey, of faith and of conformity, and with the succeding completing one: that of complete peacefulness. And each of the receptivities is further divided into its three sub-levels. As I showed in my Japanese paper,[15] the fundamental religious experience of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism is termed either as the no-longer-retrogressive (*avaivartya*) or as the receptivity of unborn truth, the latter of which means the exalting ecstasy to be experienced as received from the ultimate unborn truth at the culmination of concentration (*samādhi*) through reciting Mahāyāna *sūtra*s. This system of the fifteen receptivities cannot but be called 'hyper-practical', because the real practical religious experience, the receptivity of unborn truth, is expanded, rather mechanically, into its fifteen sub-levels with little practical foundation.

2) The second *Fanwang jing* system is motivated to furnish the hyper-practical system of receptivity with the newly translated bodhisattva *śīla* ceremony which was formulated as the practical foundation for constructing the practical bodhisattva path in the Indian Yogācāras' *śāstra* text *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Unfortunately, Indian Yogācāras' practical bodhisattva path was not yet fully developed, but was in the process of formation at the stage of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Accordingly this second system mere adopted the bodhisattva *śīla* ceremony as the introduction to its hyper-practical system continued from the *Renwang jing*.

3) The third *Yingluo jing* system should be discussed within the context of the next section, but here I would like to note that all through the consecutive development of the hyper-practical bodhisattva path in these three apocyphal *sūtra*s the Vairocana Buddha with His one thousand transformations is always presiding there as the preaching Buddha and is accordingly meditated upon so as to be directly realized in the *huayan samādhi*. Thus I think that the *Huayan jing* transmitted to the North through Xuangao has always been the presupposition for the development of these three apocryphal *sūtra*s even prior to the third in which it is evidently presupposed.

Thus I would conclude this section by suggesting that the Binglingsi cave 169 with its huge central Buddha image accompaned by a line of numerous Buddha images and facing to one thousand smaller Buddha images on the opposite wall,[16] may well represent the scene in which Vairocana Buddha is preaching the *Fanwang jing* to his one thousand transformations and in which he also teaches the meditating monks there under the guidance of Xuangao to practise the hyper-practical system of receptivities so as to be concentrated into *huayan samādhi* through reciting the *Huayan jing* ever continually.

15 Aramaki 1983: 93–94.

16 The archeological and art-historical evidence of the Binglingsi cave here referred to, is taken from the volume of the Binglingsi cave in the series of Chinese caves, Heibonsha, 1986. The huge central Buddha image accompanied by a line of numerous Buddha images is found on the plates 6 and 7, while the one thousand smaller Buddha images on the opposite wall on the plate 15.

2. The Huayan Tradition: its Philosophical Foundation on Zhidan's Sudden Teaching

With the colossal Vairocana Buddha images at Yungang caves in front of them, the bodhisattva *śīla* practice must have been eagerly pursued already in the earlier half of Northern Wei by Emperors, nobles and local communities. It must have been of vital concern for Buddhist scholars of the period to establish its philosophical foundation on the scriptural basis of the *Huayan jing* itself. Did they start to study the *Huayan jing* in the first half of Nothern Wei and if yes, to what extent? Given the lack of sufficient evidence, we cannot answer definitively. Tang Yongtong in his *History of Buddhism under the Han, Wei, Jin and Southern and Northern Dynasties* quotes an episode from the early years of Taihe 太和 period (477–499) to explain how and why the *Huayan jing* gradually became popular and prosperous to be recited under Xiaowendi 孝文帝.[17] The episode itself is taken from a Sui collection of mysterious stories, *Jingyi ji* 旌異記, and cannot be a historical record, but I think that it must have been transmitted as a memory of the Northern origin of the Huayan recitational tradition from the background discussed in the previous section.

Here in this section I assume on some circumferential evidence the possibility that, though on a limited scope due to its unusual length, the *Huayan jing* began to attract Buddhist scholars' attention and to be studied by them through lecturing by way of one of the Chinese styles of *sūtra* ceremony. It is only on this assumption that I can explain the fundamental motives of a Northern Wei commentatorial work on various Mahāyāna *sūtra*s which is transmitted in the Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 2908. I would provisionally call this manuscript "an early stage draft of one of the earliest *Compendium of the Definitions and Discussions of Mahāyāna Buddhist Truths*" (*Dasheng yizhang caogao ben* 大乘義章草稿本) which is explicitly designed to promulgate the classification of Buddha's teachings into two categories, the sudden and the gradual. How and why is this work motivated to promulgate this new classification of Buddha's teachings? Here I would first investigate the historical background of inventing this new classification of Buddha's teachings and then define two motives of elaborating this doctrine.

As mentioned above, Sakamoto Yukio established on an examination of the numerous traditional records especially within Huayan school that this fundamental classification of Buddha's teachings should be ascribed to Zhidan of Southern Qi Dynasty. Firstly, I would examine Zhidan's biography in order to know whether it is he, indeed, who promulgated this fundamental classification. Zhidan's biography is appended to that of Huilong 慧隆 (429–490),[18] and therein he is mentioned only as Huilong's contemporary and philosophical rival who lived on the other Western shore of the Yangzi River. But the Monograph on Buddhism and Daoism in the

17 Tang 1938: 630.
18 T 2059: 50.379c.

Weishu (*Weishu shilao zhi* 魏書釈老志) mentions his name as one of the Nothern Buddhist scholars and *Tang Gaoseng zhuan* refers his name as the teacher of his Northern disciple, Tanhuai 曇准 (439–515).[19] Thus Zhidan must have lived around 429–490 as a Southern monk in the first period of his life and as a Northern one in the second period.

It is also noteworthy that the *Liang gaoseng zhuan* (vol. 8) first records Huilong's biography with an appendix of that of Zhidan, then that of Sengzong 僧宗 (444–509) and thirdly of Tanhuai mentioned above. Under the heading of Sengzong the *Liang gaoseng zhuan* refers to the fact that the Nothern Wei emperor Xiaowendi 孝文帝 (r. 471–499) invited him to come to North, but the Southern Qi emperor Gaodi 高帝 (r. 479–482) or Wudi 武帝 (r. 482–493) did not allow him to go out. Under the heading of Tanhuai it also refers to the fact that Tanhuai went to South in order to listen to Sengzong's lecture. Thus we may recognize that here is taking place an international competition to absorb the best Buddhist scholarship and to hold the cultural hegemony over the other between the militarily overpowering Northern Wei and the newly founded culturally oriented Southern Qi.

Now Zhidan is said to be the Buddhist scholar who promulgated the fundamental classification of all Buddha's teachings into the two categories, the sudden and the gradual, and our chapter of the Northern work *Compendium of the Definitions and Discussions of Mahāyāna Buddhist Truths* on the biographical order of all Buddha's teachings does expressly promulgate the same fundamental categories, the sudden and the gradual. Then isn't it reasonable for us to investigate whether the latter could be the very rare record of its original promulgation by Zhidan? As far as I can see, the latter text bears no evidence to the contrary, but rather strongly points to its authenticity, the most evident reason for which may be the fact that it refers as its direct source to Liu Qiu's 'seven grades classification' which was the newest and almost perfectly completed achievement of Southern Buddhist scholarship promulgated in Yongming 3 (485). Zhidan must have gone to North immediately after this date at his fifties and taught his Northern disciple, Tanhuai, who must have gone to South some years before Yongming 11 (493). The following table may show how Liu Qiu's 'seven grades classification' is presupposed by Zhidan's 'sudden and gradual classification.' Let me note at this point that both Liu Qiu's 'seven grades classification' and Zhidan's 'sudden and gradual classification' cannot be genuinely philosophical, but hyper-philosophical because not only these two, but also all other Chinese Buddhist doctrines presuppose an un-historical doctrine that Gotama Buddha taught all his Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna *sūtra*s within the 45 years of his preaching activity, as indicated in the following table. However ingenious they may be, they cannot but be hyper-philosophical.

19 T 2060: 50.472a18–20.

Liu Qiu's "seven grades classification" 劉虬『七階教判』	**Zhidan's "sudden and gradual classification"** 智誕『頓・漸教判』
Buddha's awakening at his age 35 三十五歳成道	[sudden teaching 頓教] [ultimate communal teaching 通宗教] The Dharma-King at *Bodhi* tree did not teach for the first 7 days in the human world, but he taught Sudden Teaching at the moment of his awakening through dispatching the bodhisattvas to the heavenly and earthly congregational halls: he taught the bodhisattva's path of six receptivities and ten stages in the eight congregations at the seven places, while himself unmoved from the peaceful awakening platform. 在樹王成道一七日不説: 所以云頓者謂如来初成正覚、在寂滅道場七処八会説六忍十地
1. [At his age 35 through 47] [三十五歳乃至四十七歳] The first grade teaching: he taught the five codes of moral conducts for Bhallika, etc. 第一階「爲波利等説五戒」	[The gradual teaching 漸教] [The differentiated teaching 別教] In the second seven days he taught the five codes of moral conducts and the ten codes of lay Buddhist precepts for Trapuśa, Bhallika, etc.: ...Tathāgata moves his shining body from the Bodhi Tree and shows his great appearance to the Deer Park. 二七日後爲提謂・波利説五戒・善: ・・如来移光道樹、降儀鹿苑
2–3. The second grade teaching: he turned the wheel of Dharma to teach the four noble truths to Ājñākauḍinya, etc. The third grade teaching: he announced the teaching of the twelve membered conditioned origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) to the disciples of middle ability. 第二階「爲拘隣等転四諦」 第三階「爲中根演十二因縁」	In the third seven days he turned the wheel of Dharma to teach the four noble truths to the five disciples, Ājñākauḍinya, etc. and through 12years repudiated the disease to conceive the dogmas of nihilism and eternalism. During 12 years he proclaimed the teachings of the two vehicles, Śrāvaka -and Pratyekayānas. 三七日後爲阿若居隣五人等説四諦法輪訖十二年後破計断常患: 十二年中発唱二乗

Liu Qiu's "seven grades classification" 劉虬『七階教判』	**Zhidan's "sudden and gradual classification"** 智誕『頓・漸教判』
4. [At his age 47 through 77 四十七歳乃至七十七歳] The fourth grade teaching: he proposed the teaching of the six perfections (*pāramitās*), that is, he taught the great vehicle, Mahāyāna. 第四階「爲上根挙六波羅蜜所謂授以大乗」	[The communal teaching 通教] Secondly in the following 30 years he taught the teaching of perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*) to teach the ultimate truth of emptiness (*śunyatā*) so as to repudiate the disease to be attacked to the conceptualized as the real: … After the 12 years during this 30 years Tathāgata taught the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, etc., that is, the *sūtras* of the communal teaching, among which the two *sūtras* of negativity, *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and *Brahmaparipṛcchā* are meant to teach that all the three vehicles are awakened to one and the same truth and so to let them understand that Mahāyāna is to be aspired and Hīnayāna to be despised. 第二丗年中説空宗般若破執相患:・・如来十二年後、丗年中説大品等経通教典籍、維摩・思益二経虚典、此経所明三乗同悟、使知有大可仰、小可恤也
5–6. [At his age 77 through 84 七十七歳乃至八十四歳] The fifth grade teaching: … he taught the *sūtra* on the true infinity. The sixth grade teaching: he declared the teaching of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* to reveal the truth of one-vehicle and repudiate the expediency of three vehicles. 第五階「・・・説無量義経」 第六階「法華説唱、顯一除三」	[The communal teaching 通教] Thirdly after the 30 years he taught the truth of one-vehicle and repudiated the disease of being attached to the three vehicles: Thus Tathāgata taught the supreme truth of one-vehicle during the 7 years after the 30 years. 第三丗年後説一乗破執三之患：・・是以如来丗年後七年之中教一乗妙致
7. [At his age 85 八十五歳] The seventh grade teaching: He finally pronounced the most profound teaching of Buddha-nature	[The ultimate communal teaching 通宗教] Fourthly he taught the *Mahāyāna Parinirvāṇa-sūtra* in order to repudiate the disease of all sentient beings to conceptualize their birth and

Liu Qiu's "seven grades classification" 劉虬『七階教判』	**Zhidan's "sudden and gradual classification"** 智誕『頓・漸教判』
of all sentient beings as their eternal life and purity at the moment of his *parinirvāṇa* in the wood of Śāla Trees. 第七階「在雙樹而臨涯、乃暢我浄之玄音	death as the real: Thus Tathāgata descended from his chariot at the wood of Śāla Trees to teach that all sentient beings whose body consists of material elements, have Buddha-nature as their eternal life and supreme bliss. 第四説大涅槃破衆生計生滅之患：是以如来降駕雙林明稟気含器、皆有常我至楽之性

This Northern promulgation of dividing all the teachings of Gotama Buddha into the two categories, the sudden and the gradual, is fundamentally motivated by the two motives as follows:

1) The first motive is retrospective, because it is motivated to synthesize the newest and almost perfectly completed hyper-philosophical doctrine of Southern tradition, the seven grades of Buddha's teachings (as shown on the left column above), together with the hyper-practical system of bodhisattva practices of Northern tradition now interpreted to be based on the entire *Huayan sūtra.* I am of the opinion that it is the *Yingluo jing* which must have been composed with the express intention to base the hyper-practical system of bodhisattva practices ever since the *Renwang jing* on the essential practices of the entire structure of the *Huayan jing.* Both in our original promulgation of the two categories and in the *Yingluo jing* itself[20] the sudden teaching comprizes not only the entire *Huayan jing* as the seven congregations, but also the *Yingluo jing* as the eighth, because it is no other than the latter which connected the hyper-practical system of bodhisattva practices to the structure of the *Huayan jing.* Thus the Northern doctrine of the hyper-practical system of bodhisattva practices supposedly taught in the *Huayan jing* as the sudden teaching, proved to be successful in subordinating the Southern doctrine of the seven grades of Buddha's teachings as the gradual, although the latter culminates in the *Mahāyāna Parinirvāṇa-sūtra* also teaching the same ultimate communal truth as the sudden (as shown on the right column).

2) The second motive is prospective, because it is motivated to found the philosophical foundation for the *Huayan jing* and especially *Daśabhūmika-śāstra* philosophy to be developed through the Northern Dynasties up to Sui and Tang periods. This philosophical foundation consists of the two doctrines which shall be presupposed by the succeeding development of the *Huayan jing* and *Daśabhūmika-śāstra* philosophy. The first doctrine is that of the *Huayan jing* and the *Yingluo jing* as

20 T 1485: 24.1022a.

taught suddenly in the eight congregations at the seven places as defined in the definition of the sudden teaching above, "he taught the bodhisattva path of six receptivities[21] and ten stages in the eight congregations at the seven places, while himself unmoved from the peaceful awakening platform."

The second doctrine is that of the three categories of Buddha's teachings newly introduced in this promulgation: (1) the differentiated, (2) the communal and (3) the ultimate communal teachings which must be regarded as the fundamental philosophical analysis of Buddha's teachings divided into the two, the sudden and the gradual, so to speak, biographically. The following development of Nothern Buddhist philosophy will be centred around the relationship between the two ultimate communal teachings, one at the moment of awakening and the other at that of *parinirvāṇa*. It will be fundamentally asked how the Buddha-nature of all sentient beings as taught in the *Mahāyāna Parinirvāṇa-sūtra* is related to the *dharmakāya* of Buddhas and bodhisattvas as expounded in the *Huayan jing* and the *Daśabhūmika-śāstra* and so how a bodhisattava as a sentient being with Buddha-nature ascends the higher and higher stages of bodhisattva practices in order to attain the Buddhahood. This course of the development will culminate in the phiilosophy of the *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論[22] as will be mentioned below.

It seems to me fundamentally important even for the purpose of understanding the philosophical development of Chinese Buddhism that we may pay due attention to its relevance to the political, economic and social history of Chinese society as a whole during the same period. Thus I think that the political, economic and social history of Northern Dynasties gradually to overpower and conquer Southern Dynasties,was fundamentally correlated with the philosophical movement of Buddhism in those periods, some so far neglected trends of which I have tried to elucidate here in this paper.

1) Huayan tradition must have started with Xuangao who must have been a genius in his meditative experience of *huayan samādhi* and his religious charisma must have been so centrally cardinal for the political unification of Northern Wei that he could not but be eliminated prior to Daoist persecution of Buddhism under Taiwudi (446–450).

2) Daorong and Xuangao must have cooperated to initiate the bodhisattva *śīla* movement for any human being to become a bodhisattva and then to practise the hyper-practical system of receptivity higher and higher up and this movement of becoming a bodhisattva must have been practised in front of a Vairocana Buddha image like those at the Yungang caves by all the classes of society.

21 The mention of the bodhisattva path of six receptivities here in our chapter of the *Compendium of the Definitions and Discussions of Mahāyāna Buddhist Truths* (1.220) proves its close connection to the *Yingluo jing*, because this system of six receptivities is characteristic of the latter *sūtra*. Its system of six receptivities is formed by expanding that of four of the *Fanwang jing* – 1. the solid receptivity of faith, 2. that of truth, 3. that of practice and 4. that of sacredness – with an addition of the final two stages of the *Yingluo jing*. Cf. the *Yingluo jing*, T 1485: 24.1012b.

22 T 1666, 1667.

3) Zhidan's new hyper-philosophical classification of all the teachings of Gotama Buddha into the sudden and the gradual, must have been a very ingenious solution of the fundamental problem of Chinese Buddhism how to systematize the Northern tradition of the hyper-practical system of receptivity on the basis of the *Huayan jing* and the newest Southern tradition of the hyper-philosophical of all the teachings of Gotama Buddha on the basis of the *Lotus* and the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*s. This hyper-philosophical solution of the fundamental problem of Chinese Buddhism must have been the philosophical presuppositon for Northern Wei to move their capital to Luoyang in order finally to overpower Southern Dynasties.

4) This hyper-practical and hyper-philosophical systematization of all the teachings of Gotama Buddha thus achieved, was to be further refined and deepened into the more and more philosophically essential systems throughout Northern Dynasties. The final conclusion of this philosophical movement must have been Tanyan's *Dasheng qixin lun*. I am of the opinion that Tanyan's philosophical achievement must have been the philosophical presupposition for Northern Zhou and Sui to overpower and conquer Northern Qi and Chen to realize the final unification of Northern and Southern Dynasties into Sui and Tang Empire.

Conclusion: The Religious Limitation of Huayan Tradition in Lingyou's Eschatological Awareness

Above I have tried to delineate in the barest gist how eagerly Buddhists of Northern Dynasties responded to the introduction of the Southern Buddhists' innovations in order to develop their own new philosophical doctrines and practices. I also tried to show how inevitably their new doctrines could not but be hyper-practical and -philosophical due to the immaturity of their Buddhist experience of religious conversion on both sides of interaction. Were these hyper-practical and -philosophical doctrines able to contribute to the realization of practical and philosophical truth?

Prior to venturing to answer this question, I think I must point out one fundamental presupposition of realizing such religious and historical conversion of a true Buddhist in China. The development of those meta-practical and -philosophical doctrines under the Northern Dynasties culminated in the final synthesis of mind-only philosophy of the *Dasheng qixin lun* which itself did not get rid of the speculative nature of those hyper-practical and -philosophical doctrines.[23] How, then, could the Buddhist monks of the Sui (581–618) and Tang dynasties overcome this speculative nature of the hyper-practical and -philosophical doctrines and awaken to the practical and philosophical truth in order to realize the religious and historical conversion of a true Buddhist?

23 In Aramaki 2000 I tried to examine the possibility that the philosophical and doctrinal development of Buddhism under the Northern Dynasties culminates in the composition of the *Dasheng qixin lun* by the hands of a genius Buddhist philosopher Tanyan 曇延.

Now I would precipitate to answer this essential question of Sui and early Tang Buddhism, not by tracing Sui and early Tang Buddhist developments in any detail, but by pointing out one archeological evidence which might eloquently indicate how Sui and early Tang Buddhist schools developed in relation to each other so as finally to be converted with the true conversion of the sixth partriarch Huineng 慧能.

Here is a very important archeological evidence which marks the final stage of the Northern Dynasties tradition of Huayan practice and philosophy and, at the same time, represents the starting-point of the trends of Sui and early Tang Buddhist development. The epitaph of Lingyou 靈祐[24] built in 6th year of the Zhenguan 貞観 period (632) on the side of his tomb runs as follows:

In the period of one thousand years after the *parinirvāṇa* of Tathāgata there was [a succession of] the twenty four holy great patriarchs who transmitted the true Dharma [in India]. After those one thousand years there was [another succesion of] the human Dharma patriarchs who also transmitted the true Dharma [in China].

Coming down to Taihe 22nd of Da Wei (or Nothern Wei, A. D. 498), [Northern] Qi great patriarch Lenamoti (Ratnamati), "Jewel minded" in Chinese, of the city Youjia of Central India, … had the ardent wish to transmit the true Dharma [to China]. Thus he brought the *Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā* (十地〔経〕論) from Cenral India and propagated it in China. He handed down this treatise to Chinese śramaṇa, Vinaya master, [Hui] guang. This [transmission] … was just as the water of a jar is transmitted to another without spilling out any drop. The Vinaya master [Hui] guang was Yang by his native family name … [Among his numerous disciples] the Dharma master Daoping was the only one [legitimate successor of the true Dharma]. … … If ever the deeply hidden philosophy of the *Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā* has been transmitted in principle and the lamp [of the true dharma] has been continued on [to the next]???????, it was to the only one [legitimate successor,] the Dharma master [Lingyou]. … [He should be] the head [patriarch] to the following one thousand years; he is the grandson [patriarch] of the Vinaya master [Hui]guang and is [the son patriarch] of the Dharma master [Dao]ping ????????. The Dharma master was Ling[you] by his monk name … …

如来滅後千季之中、廿有四聖大法師？伝法也、千季之後、次有凡夫法師亦　伝法也、暨大魏太和廿二年、中天竺優迦城斉大法師勒那摩提、□云宝意、　・・志在伝化、遂従中天、持十地論、振斯東夏、授此土沙 □□ 光律師、　其□□□、□□ 教授、如瓶写水、不失一滴、其光律師、俗姓楊　・・・　有其　道憑法師之一人也、　・・・　若十地秘論、固本垂綱、而伝灯□□□□□□□　法師之一人也、　・・・　当千年之後之上首也、又是光律師之孫、憑法師　之□□□□□□□□矣、　法師道諱霊□・・・

There is no doubt that together with the minutely carved picture of the twenty four holy great patriarchs in India on the back-wall of the entrance to the Dazhushen cave, this epitaph of the Dharma master Lingyou is the witness of the very first

24 ŌCHI Fumio published the text in his article 1997.

declaration of the legitimate succession of the true Dharma from Indian twenty four holy great patriarchs to Chinese human ones: (1) Ratnamati (勒那摩提), (2) Huiguang 慧光, (3) Daoping 道憑 and (4) Lingyou (靈祐). Thus it is Northern Dynasties Huayan or the *Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā* tradition who has first declared the legitimate Dharma lineage from Indian twenty four holy great patriarchs to Chinese human ones. Henceforth Chinese Buddhist schools except Huayan itself, began to claim their legitimate Dharma lineages from the same Indian twenty four holy great patriarchs to their own respective Chinese human patriarchs as follows.

1) Tiantai lineage was founded on the religious and historical conversion of Huisi 慧思 in his **Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasamādhi*, and so continues from Indian twenty four to its Chinese four patriarchs as follows: (1) Huiwen 慧文, (2) Huisi 慧思 and (3) Zhiyi 智顗. This lineage seems to have lost its original inspiration of Huisi's religious and historical conversion in the course of its efforts to incorporate the hyper-practical and -philosophical doctrines into its own philosophical system.

2) Nothern Chan lineage claims to have directly descended from Indian twenty four patriarchs to its first Chinese patriarch Bodhidharma (菩提達磨) and then is transmitted to its Chinese patriarchs as follows: (1) Bodhidharma (菩提達磨), (2) Huike 慧可, (3) Sengcan 僧粲, (4) Daoxin 道信 and (5) Hongren 弘忍, but, in reality, seems still to continue the Sui Chandingsi 禅定寺 and Da Chandingsi 大禅定寺 tradition of the hyper-practical and -philosophical mind-only *samādhi* of the *Dasheng qixin lun* as betrayed by its inclusion of Sengcan 僧粲 as its third Chinese patriarch perhaps in the place of Tanlun 曇倫, a Chandingsi monk, who has definitely been known as one of the predecessors of Northern Chan lineage.

3) Southern Chan lineage shares the same succession of Indian twenty four and Chinese five patriarchs as the above Northern Chan, but finally overcame the speculative nature of the hyper-practical and -philosophical mind-only *samādhi* of Northern Chan lineage through being converted with the religious and historical conversion of its sixth Chinese patriarch Huineng 慧能 at the moment of his awakening to the ultimate truth of Mahāyāna Buddhism, that is *śunyatā* or *anutpattikadharmakṣānti*.

If I am right in thus sketching the fundamental trends of Sui and early Tang Buddhist history toward the religious and historical conversion of the sixth patriarch of Southern Chan, Huineng, then it is evident that *huayan samādhi* at the stage of Lingyou's Dazhusheng cave must have been very much limited in its eschatological awareness to overcome the speculative nature of hyper-practical and -philosophical doctrines ever since its earliest origin and foundation discussed in this paper. Then isn't it inevitable for the new Tang Dynasty tradition of Huayan practice and philosophy – with Du Shun 杜順 as the first, Zhiyan 智儼 as the second and Fazang 法藏 as the third patriarch – to discontinue their historically legitimate descendency from its Northern Dynasties precursor in view of the truely revolutionary historical movement of Northern and Southern Chan schools accelarating in its wider and wider popularity?

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WEI DAORU

A FUNDAMENTAL FEATURE OF THE HUAYAN PHILOSOPHY

The Huayan tradition summarizes its religious doctrines into "the one-vehicle *pratītyasamutpāda*", "*dharmadhātu pratītyasamutpāda*" or "the *pratītyasamutpāda* of nature-origination" and claims that it is utterly different from the theories of *pratītyasamutpāda* in both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Buddhism. The theoretical emphasis of this tradition is not the formation but the existing situation of the world. According to "*dharmadhātu pratītyasamutpāda* ", countless dharmas (all phenomena in the world) are representations of the wisdom of Buddha without exception ("pure mind of the original nature", "one-mind" or "*dharmadhātu*"). They exist in a state of mutual dependence, interfusion and balance without any contradiction or conflict. This thought essentially argues that there is no relationship of cause and result among phenomena and that things are not formed sequentially. Instead, they constitute the world by the mutual interfusion of complete equality. This theory is peculiar in the history of the Buddhist thought, which is not contained in both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Buddhism. A most fundamental and protruding feature of the Huayan philosophy is called "perfect interfusion" (*yuanrong* 圓融).

Among the Buddhist traditions of China, Huayan emphasizes perfect interfusion most. For this tradition, perfect interfusion is the methodology to observe and understand the world, the general principle to handle all issues, and also the ideal goal to attain by practice. In the Chinese history, perfect interfusion of Huayan is gradually accepted by all Buddhist traditions and it eventually permeated all aspects of Chinese Buddhism.

"Perfect interfusion" contains two main connotations. First, as far as a single thing or phenomenon is concerned, it becomes significant only in connection with other things. That is to say, its existence depends on the specific network of connections. Second, as far as all things or phenomena are concerned, they are mutually identical and penetrating without any obstruction. The Huayan tradition emphasizes perfect interfusion with the purpose of establishing the harmonious relationship among the myriad dharmas and of eliminating barriers and obstacles, as Chengguan said, "to harmonize the myriad dharmas and eliminate all obstruction". Without the presupposition of perfect interfusion of the myriad dharmas, "*dharmadhātu pratīt-*

yasamutpāda" and even the entire doctrinal framework of the Huayan tradition would lose its ideological foundation.

It is interesting that there are not many arguments in the Huayan works that specially interpret the concept of perfect interfusion. These views explain this interfusion mainly in terms of different phenomena. These contents are abundant including a wide variety of aspects. Based on the large number of works by the Huayan monks, five main aspects of perfect interfusion can be induced.

1. Discussing Perfect Interfusion from the Perspective of Substance and Function as well as of Essence and Phenomena

According to the Huayan thought, all things or phenomena represent the direct and complete manifestation of the essence. Substance and function as well as essence and phenomena exist in a state of perfect interfusion. Fazang explained this relationship with the terms "true" (*zhen* 真) and "false" (*wang* 妄) as an example:

> "True" governs all "false";
> There is no "false" that could not be called "true".
> "False" penetrates (*che* 徹) the source of "true";
> The essence (*ti* 體) of every thing rests in this state.
> "True" and "false" are interconnected (*jiaoche* 交徹);
> These different two are in interfusion (*shuangrong* 雙融);
> They penetrate each other without obstruction (*wu'ai* 無礙).
> This can be understood if one thinks it through.
>
> 又明真該妄末無不稱。
> 真妄徹真源體無不寂。
> 真妄交徹二分雙融無礙全攝。
> 思之可見。[1]

"True" and "false" are dependant on each other. "True" as the substance and "false" as its function are mutually permeated (interconnected), mutually interfused (double interfusion), unhindered (without obstruction), and mutually inclusive (complete penetration). In the Huayan philosophy, concepts belonging to a similar category with "true" ("principle", "one", "nature", "substance", "purity", "result", "mind", etc) are opposed to concepts belonging to a similar category with "false" ("things", "many", "characteristics", "function", "dirt", "cause", "dharma", etc.). Perfect interfusion also exists in these pairs. The monks of the Huayan tradition opposed the discussion on function in spite of substance and on phenomena in spite of essence. For instance, when Zongmi 宗密 (780–841) wrote about Du Shun's 杜順 (557–640) emphasis on perfect interfusion of things (*shi* 事) and principle (*li* 理) and opposition to talking about the *dharmadhātu* of things in isolation, he said:

1 *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章, T 1866: 45.501c26–28.

> There are no independent phenomena apart from the *dharmadhātu* of these phenomena; there are no isolated dharma within the doctrine of the Huayan; if you observe it in itself then it is the conventional realm, not the realm of insight.
>
> 除事法界也。事不獨立故。法界宗中無孤單法故。若獨觀之。即事情計之境。非觀智之境故。[2]

Thus, when talking about the "*dharmadhātu* of things", Zongmi always linked it with "principle"; when talking about the "*dharmadhātu* of principle", he always linked it with "things". In accordance with this methodology that substance and function are in perfect interfusion, the world in the views of the Huayan tradition is of both substance and phenomena as well as of both liberation and *saṃsāra*. These two are completely identical.

2. Discussing Perfect Interfusion from the Perspective of Non-duality of the Opposite Sides in Entity

Regardless of the apparent differences among various things and phenomena on the surface, even if they occupy opposite positions within entity, there still exists non-dual relationship among them. In other words, A is B and B is A, which is called "mutual correspondence". When Fazang explained the "perfect interfusion of the six characteristics" (*liuxiang yuanrong* 六相圓融), he discussed the mutual correspondence of "universality" (*zongxiang* 總相) and "particularity" (*biexiang* 別相), "identity" (*tongxiang* 同相) and "difference" (*yixiang* 異相), "integration" (*chengxiang* 成相) and "disintegration" (*huaixiang* 壞相). "Universality" and "particularity" will be exemplified. "Universal characteristic" is the whole (i.e. house); "particular characteristic" is the part (i.e. rafter, tiles, etc.) of which the whole is made up. In terms of the relationship between "universality" and "particularity", "without particularity, universality cannot be established either. The reason is that when there is no particularity, there is no universality. What does this mean? Originally, universality is established on the basis of particularity and if there is no particularity, universality cannot be established. As for particularity, it is in turn established on the basis of universality." 由無別時即無總故。 此義云何。 本以別成總。 由無別故 總不成也。是故別者。即以總成別也。[3]

On the one hand, if there is no part (particularity), there is no whole (universality). The whole is made up of parts, which is called "universality established on the basis of particularity". On the other hand, if there is no whole, there can be no part. Because part becomes a part only in relation to a whole, which is called "particularity established on the basis of universality". When one obtains "universality", one also obtains "particularity" and vice verse. This leads to a conclusion that "univer-

2 *Zhu huayan fajieguan men* 注華嚴法界觀門, T 1884: 45.684c4–6.
3 *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang*, T 1866: 45.508a24–26.

sality is particularity" and "particularity is universality". "If they do not mutually correspond and universality exists apart from particularity, then it is not universality anymore; if particularity exists apart from universality, then it is not particularity anymore. This can be understood if one thinks it through." 若不相即者。總在別外故非總也。別在總外故非別也。思之可解。[4] The "perfect interfusion of six characteristics" claims that all things within entity are in the state of "mutual correspondence of universality and particularity, of identity and difference, of integration and disintegration". "Mutual correspondence" elucidates that all things in entity are non-dual or completely identical.

3. Discussing Perfect Interfusion from the Perspective of Mutual Inclusiveness and Penetration of Things or Phenomena

In the Huayan thought, all things are in the relationship of A including B and B including A, which is called "mutual penetration". In the fourth volume of the *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章, Fazang described the mutual penetration by using the strong and weak functions ("possessing force" *youli* 有力 and "lacking force" *wuli* 無力) of a pair called "self" (*zi* 自) and "other" (*ta* 他). According to Fazang, among all things originated dependently, if the "force" exerted by the "self" of a certain thing is greater than the "force" exerted by another thing, the first thing has an absolute advantage that draws the latter thing into itself. In other words, if the other thing completely loses its own "force", it inevitably enters into the "self" of the first thing, which also means that the two can mutually penetrate. Here, the difference of functions among things is exemplified to illustrate the relationship of mutual penetration.

4. Discussing Perfect Interfusion from the Perspective of General Relationship among Things and Phenomena

Superficially, all things are independent and different from one another. However, possessing the same principle, they are in the state of mutual interfusion. There are countless things different from one another. Therefore, the interfusion and harmony without obstruction among countless things form a vivid painting that remains eternally extensive. Such an ever-extendable relationship of "perfect interfusion" among all things is named the "ad infinitum" or "infinite perfect interfusion". This is very similar to what Zongmi wrote in *Zhu huayan fajieguan men* 注華嚴法界觀門 when he explained the "*dharmadhātu* without obstruction among things" (*shishi wu'ai fajie* 事事無礙法界). "All different things and dharmas involve the same nature,

4 *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang*, T 1866: 45.508b2–4.

which is called ad infinitum." 一切分齊事法。一一如性融通。重重無盡故。[5] Apparently, this philosophy of infinite perfect interfusion completely denies the independent existence of things, while emphasizing the universal relationship of them.

5. Discussing Perfect Interfusion from the Perspective of Practice

There is a fundamental feature of the bodhisattva practice advocated in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra.* This scripture inherited all Buddhist practice rules and even absorbed some non-Buddhist practicing methods into a particular sequential structure as the indispensable stage or procedure to attain the enlightenment. The Huayan tradition faithfully follows these practice rules in their practice, but at the same time, they interpret the rules from the perspective of perfect interfusion, resulting in a unique theory of practice i.e. the unity of "differentiation gate" (*xingbu men* 行布門) and "perfect interfusion gate" (*yuanrong men* 圓融門). On the one hand, the Huayan tradition believes that "the achievement of individuals is different" and "saints have different status". On the other hand, it also claims that as far as the principle is concerned, there is no differentiation and the "*xingbu men* and *yuanrong men* mutually support each other without obstruction". 一者行布二者圓融此二相資互 無障礙。[6] Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839) explained this saying, "*Xingbu* is the doctrine and characteristics, whereas *yuanrong* is the function of nature. Characteristics refers to the characteristics of nature, thus *xingbu* does not obstruct *yuanrong*; nature refers to the nature of characteristics, thus *yuanrong* does not obstruct *xingbu.*" 行布是教相施設。圓融乃理性德用。相是性之相。故行布不礙圓融。性是相之性故。圓融不礙行布。[7] To understand the countless practice rules in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* from this perspective results in the conclusions that "practicing one teaching is practicing all teachings" and "finishing one *kleśa* is finishing all *kleśa*". These conclusions mean that if a person practices one certain teaching of Buddhism, he/she also implements all Buddhist teachings; if a person completes practice of one certain stage within the entire practicing process, he/she also obtains all the results within all the stages. This is an effective slogan to encourage people to practice and is also a kind of pragmatic value of perfect interfusion.

"Perfect interfusion" of the Huayan tradition is established on the basis of the theoretically molding and transforming the fairy tales and realms of magic power in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra.* The emphasis on perfect interfusion is conducive to arousing the confidence and courage of believers, to attracting new followers of various levels, to eliminating rivalry and enmity among different traditions and also to promoting the harmonious development of various religions and sects. This innovative doctrine conforms to the development of the Chinese Buddhism and therefore

5 *Zhu huayan fajieguan men* 注華嚴法界觀門, T 1884: 45.684b29–c1.
6 *Da huayan jing lüe ce* 大華嚴經略策, T 1737: 36.705b9–10.
7 *Da huayan jing lüe ce*, T 1737: 36.706a4–6.

it leads to prosperous and enduring growth. In sum, the thought of perfect interfusion plays a positive role in the development of the Chinese Buddhism.

However, there are also some obvious shortcomings in the Huayan philosophy. The overemphasis on harmony and accordance among things completely eliminates the contradiction and contrast among them. The overemphasis on the identity thoroughly eradicates the distinction among things. The theoretical shortcomings often bring about malpractice. Guided by perfect interfusion, practitioners will be eager for instant success and quick profits and regardless of the concrete situation. They will also take a part as a whole, which violates the natural laws. At the same time, the overemphasis on perfect interfusion leads to the loss of distinction between right and wrong, true and false, which in turn is detrimental to the healthy development of Buddhism.

IMRE HAMAR

A HUAYAN PARADIGM FOR THE CLASSIFICATION OF MAHĀYĀNA TEACHINGS: THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF *FAXIANGZONG* AND *FAXINGZONG**

Introduction

Dan Lusthaus finds the origin of the paradigm *xing* 性 versus *xiang* 相 in the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 and concludes:

> Ironically, this very distinction became one of the major rhetorical weapons used by Fa-tsang against Hsüan-tsang's school, calling them '[the mere] fa-hsiang' (Dharma-Characteristics) school against his own Sinitic 'fa-hsing' (Dharma-Nature) school. This distinction became so important that every Buddhist school originating in East Asia, including all forms of Sinitic Mahāyāna, viz. T'ien-t'ai, Hua-yen, Ch'an, and Pure Land, came to be considered Dharma-nature schools.[1]

Whalen Lai also attributes the establishment of this paradigm to Fazang, referring to Zhili 知禮: "The name 'Fa-hsiang' was, however, attributed to it by its critics; it is a derogative term alleging that the school did not know thoroughly the deeper Fa-hsing (Dharma-essence). The contrast was intended to bring out the 'Hīnayānist phenomenalism' [sic] inherent in the Wei-shih school and to highlight the 'Mahāyāna essentialism' of its critic. As recalled by Sung T'ien-t'ai master Ssu-ming Chih-li (959–1028), the distinction arose at the time of Fa-tsang's (643–712) attack on the Wei-shih school:

> At the time [of Hua-yen (Avatamsaka) patriarch, Fa-tsang,] there was widely held the theory of *chen-ju sui-yüan* (Suchness or *tathatā* accompanying the conditions [the *pratyaya* that brought *samsāra* into being]) and the theory of a (passive) Suchness that would not create ('let rise') the various existents (dharmas). From that is derived the distinction between a *hsing-tsung* ([Dharma] essence school] and a *hsiang-tsung* ([Dharma] characteristic school). This distinction was made by Fa-tsang and was unknown to our [T'ien-t'ai] master Chih-i.[2]

They are right in that Fazang 法藏 introduced the term *faxiangzong* 法相宗 for the Yogācāra teachings of Xuanzang 玄奘 (600–664), and later this designation became widespread in East Asian Buddhism. In Japan, the Hossō 法相 school represented the most outstanding of the six schools (Sanron 三論, Hossō, Jōjitsu 成實,

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1 Lusthaus 2002: 372.

2 Lai 1986: 1.

Kusha 俱舍, Ritsu 律, Kegon 華嚴) of the Nara period (710–784).[3] However, attributing the invention of the term *faxingzong* 法性宗 to Fazang is rather dubious, as it cannot be found in his works. The *faxing* 法性 is the Chinese equivalent of the Sanskrit *dharmatā*,[4] which means 'essence' or 'inherent nature.'[5] I will not delve into this frequently used term in Indian and Chinese Buddhism here as this would go beyond the scope of this article. Nonetheless, it should be pointed out that the founder of the Tiantai 天台 school, Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), identified dharma-nature with Buddha-nature by saying: "Buddha-nature is dharma-nature 佛性即是法性."[6] He thus attributes Buddha-nature not only to the sentient beings but also to the non-sentient beings.[7] Lusthaus' other claim that Huayan "came to be considered Dharma-nature school" can also be called into question. In order to provide an answer as to whether Huayan belongs to the dharma-nature school, I shall examine the origin and meaning of these two important terms in the history of Chinese Buddhist thought: the *zong* of dharma-characteristics (*faxiangzong* 法相宗) and the *zong* of dharma-nature (*faxingzong* 法性宗).

Faxiangzong as Yogācāra in Fazang's works

In his commentary on the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經談玄記), Fazang relates the story of how he met a Central Indian monk, Divākara[8] (Dipoheluo 地婆訶羅, or Rizhao 日照 613–688),[9] in the Taiyuan 太原 monastery[10] of Chang'an in 684, and asked him whether Indian monks distinguish between provisional and actual (*quanshi* 權實) teachings.[11] In his reply, Divākara said that there were two famous Indian masters of the Nālandā monastery: Śīlabhadra (Jiexian 戒賢 529–645)[12] and Jñānaprabha (Zhiguang 智光).[13] He interprets their views on the different levels of Buddhist teachings in the following way.

3 Tamura 2000: 46.
4 Soothill 1937: 269, Nakamura 1975: 1252d–1253a.
5 Monier-Williams 1899: 511.
6 *Weimo jing lüeshu* 維摩經略疏, T 17783: 8.681a26.
7 Ng 2003: 78.
8 On Divākara, see Forte 1974.
9 Divākara is said to have translated 18 works between 676 and 687. *Kaiyuan shijiaolu* 開元釋教錄, T 2154: 55.564a12–17. With the assistance of Fazang, he translated the *Ghanavyūha-sūtra* (*Dasheng miyan jing* 大乘密嚴經, T 681), on which Fazang wrote a commentary (*Dasheng miyan jing shu* 大乘密嚴經疏, XZJ vol. 34). In addition, they worked together on the translation of the parts of the last chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, that were missing from Buddhabhadra's translation. See Liu 1979: 8–9.
10 Empress Wu established this monastery by converting her mother's residence after she passed away. She appointed Fazang as the first abbot. See Liu 1979: 8.
11 T 1733: 35.111c8–112a22.
12 Śīlabhadra was Xuanzang's 玄奘 (600–664) teacher at Nālandā, and is mentioned in his famous record of his travels, *Xiyuji* 西域記 T 2087. See Lusthaus 2002: 395–397.
13 Mochizuki 3571.

Śīlabhadra, a disciple of Dharmapāla (Hufa 護法 530–561), who belongs to the lineage of Maitreya (Mile 彌勒) and Asaṅga (Wuzhu 無著 310–390?),[14] establishes three levels of teachings on the basis of *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra* and *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra.*[15] In the first period, Hīnayāna teaches the emptiness of living beings (*shengkong* 生空), but fails to realise the true principle (*zhenli* 真理) of the emptiness of dharmas (*fakong* 法空). In the second period, the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*s advocate the emptiness of dharmas. The correct principle (*zhengli* 正理) of Mahāyāna is revealed only in the third period, when the tenets of Yogācāra, i.e. three natures and three non-natures, are taught. In addition, these three levels of teaching are explained in terms of the capacity of the audience, the teaching, and the revelation of principle. In the first period, only *śrāvaka*s are taught exclusively Hīnayāna teachings that reveal the principle of emptiness of the person. In the second period, only bodhisattvas are taught exclusively Mahāyāna teachings that show the emptiness of both the person and dharmas. In the third period, beings of various capacities are instructed in all vehicles that expose both emptiness and existence (*kongyou* 空有). As the third period comprises all capacities, teachings and principles, it represents the level of explicit statement (*nītārtha*, *liaoyi* 了義).

Jñānaprabha, who belongs to the lineage of Mañjuśrī (Wenshu 文殊) and Nāgārjuna (Longshu 龍樹 *ca.* 150–250), follows in the footsteps of Āryadeva (Tipo 提婆 170–270) and Bhāvaviveka (Qingbian 清辯 500–570). He distinguishes three levels of teaching on the basis of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*s and *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā.* In the first period, Buddha instructed people of small capacity in the Hīnayāna teaching, according to which both mind and objects exist (*xinjing juyou* 心境俱有). In the second period, the *faxiang* of Mahāyāna (*faxiang dasheng* 法相大乘) is taught to people of mediocre capacity. It explains that objects are empty, while the mind is existent (*jingkong xinyou* 境空心有), which is the principle of consciousness-only. However, these people cannot understand the equality of true emptiness (*pingdeng zhenkong* 平等真空). In the third period, the *wuxiang* of Mahāyāna (*wuxiang dasheng* 無相大乘) is taught to people of superb capacity. It argues that the equal emptiness of both objects and the mind is the level of true explicit statement (*zhen liaoyi* 真了義). In the first period, the audience consisted of the two vehicles which must refer to *śrāvaka-yāna* and *pratyekabuddha-yāna*; in the second, it was made up of the followers of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, and in the third, it was only bodhisattvas. In terms of teaching, the first period is the teaching of Hīnayāna, the second is that of three vehicles (*sansheng* 三乘), and the last period is that of one-

14 According to the legend, Maireya took Asaṅga to the Tuṣita where Yogācāra works were given to him. Some scholars suspect that Maitreya could be a historical person, Asaṅga's teacher, who is referred to as Maitreyanātha. See Williams 1989: 80–81.

15 It is interesting to note that Xuanzang's biography (*Da Tang Daciensi sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, T 2053) by Huili 慧立 and Yancong 彥悰 cites a letter by Xuanzang where Śīlabhadra is said to be the successor to both Āryadeva and Nāgārjuna. This contradicts Divākara's alleged account that associates Śīlabhadra exclusively with Āryadeva and the Yogācāra. See Li 1995: 231.

vehicle (*yisheng* 一乘). As regards the revelation of principle, the heretical view of self-nature (*zixing* 自性) is refuted in the first period, clinging to the essential being of those things that dependently arise is refuted gradually in the second, and the apparent existence still retained in the second period is refuted in the third.

The classification of the two Indian masters can be summarised in two tables:

period	***audience***	***teaching***	***principle***
1. Hīnayāna	*śrāvaka*	Hīnayāna	emptiness of person
2. Wuxiang	bodhisattva	Mahāyāna	emptiness of person and dharmas
3. Faxiang	all	all	emptiness and existence

(Classification by Śīlabhadra)

period	***audience***	***teaching***	***principle***
1. Hīnayāna	two vehicles	Hīnayāna	refutation of the heretical view of self-nature
2. Faxiang	both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna	three vehicles	refutation of essential being
3. Wuxiang	bodhisattva	one-vehicle	refutation of apparent being

(Classification by Jñānaprabha)

Śīlabhadra's classification is quite well-known from the *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra* as the three turnings of the Dharma-wheel. According to this scripture, Buddha's teaching can be divided into three successive periods. The first period is the Hīnayāna when the emptiness of self was preached. In the second period, the emptiness of all dharmas was proclaimed in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*s. However, the hidden meaning of these *sūtra*s was revealed only in the third period, which is the teaching of the *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra.* This is the explicit meaning of the teachings that require no further explanation.[16] By the time Bhāvaviveka lived, doctrinal disagreements between the followers of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka had come to the fore. Though he was willing to borrow some methods from his opponents, he was critical of Yogācāra, and maintained the basic Madhyamaka principle of the emptiness of all dharmas, including consciousness.[17]

Fazang introduced two names: *Faxiang* 法相 (characteristics of dharmas) and *Wuxiang* 無相 (without characteristics). He applied the first name to the Yogācāra, and though it was a rather pejorative designation, suggesting that it was a kind of

16 T 676: 16.697a23–b9; Lamotte 1935: 206–207; Keenan 2000: 49.
17 Ruegg 1981: 65–66.

Hīnayāna school dealing only with the characteristics of dharmas, it became the traditional name for this Indian school of Buddhist thought in East Asian Buddhism. He applied the term *Wuxiang* to the Madhyamaka school of thought, as it denied the existence of characteristics. Divākara's account of the Indian classification of Buddhist teaching must have exercised a great influence on Fazang, because he refers to it in his other works as well.[18] This small episode in the history of Chinese Buddhism sheds light on the process usually referred to as the 'sinification of Buddhism'. Fazang's encounter with Divākara shows that there was an active dialogue between Chinese and foreign monks during the transmission of Buddhism.[19]

In his commentary on the *Awakening of Faith* and on the *Dasheng fajie wuchabie lun* 大乘法界無差別論, in which he discussed the Indian Buddhist teachings, Fazang distinguishes four cardinal principles (*zong* 宗): (1) clinging to the [existence] of dharmas through their characteristics (*suixiang fazhi zong* 隨相法執宗); (2) real emptiness without characteristics (*zhenkong wuxiang zong* 真空無相宗); (3) consciousness-only [established by] the characteristics of dharmas (*weishi faxiang zong* 唯識法相宗); and (4) the dependent arising of the *tathāgatagarbha* (*rulaizang yuanqi zong* 如來藏緣起宗).[20] These four cardinal principles refer to the teachings of Hīnayāna, Madhyamaka, Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha, respectively. He defines these lineages with the help of the basic Huayan paradigm: phenomena (*shi* 事) and principle (*li* 理).[21] Hīnayāna clings to the characteristics of phenomena. Madhyamaka reveals the principle by the coalascence with phenomena. Yogācāra provides a description of various aspects of phenomena that arise on the basis of principle. The Tathāgatagarbha discusses the interpenetration and non-obstruction of principle and phenomena. In addition, in his commentary on the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, he again furnishes these four kinds of cardinal principles, though with their names slightly changed: (1) existence of characteristics (*youxiang zong* 有相宗); (2) non-existence of characteristics (*wuxiang zong* 無相宗); (3) characteristics of dharmas (*faxiang zong* 法相宗); and (4) ultimate truth (*shixiang zong* 實相宗).[22] Fazang discusses these four categories in terms of dharmas, consciousness, dependent arising, turning to

18 *Shiermen lun zongzhi yiji* 十二門論宗致義記, T 1826: 42.213a5–c23; *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* 大乘起信論義記, T 1846: 44.242a29–b21.

19 Robert Sharf has a different view, arguing that "whatever 'dialogue' transpired took place among the Chinese themselves". See Sharf 2002: 19.

20 T 1846: 44.242b23–c7; T 1838: 44.61c9–13.

21 The first patriarch of the Huayan lineage, Du Shun 杜順 (557–640), introduced these terms when he changed the terms *form* for *phenomena* and *emptiness* for *principle*. For a translation of his important work, *Discernments of Dharmadhātu* (*Fajie guanmen* 法界觀門), see Gimello 1976: 454–510, and for another which includes Chengguan's commentary, see Cleary 1983: 69–124. For a summary of arguments in this work, see Ziporyn 2000: 171–174.

22 *Ru Lengqie xinxuanyi* 入楞伽心玄義, T 1790: 39.426b29–427a2.

names in the commentary on the Awakening of Faith	clinging to the [existence] of dharmas through their characteristics	real emptiness without characteristics	consciousness only [established by] the characteristics of dharmas	the dependent arising of the Tathāgatagarbha
names in the commentary on the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra	existence of characteristics	non-existence of characteristics	characteristics of dharmas	real characteristics
scriptures	Four Āgamas, Vibhāṣā	*Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*s, *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārika*	*Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra*, *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*	*Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, *Ghanavyūha-sūtra*, *Ratnagotravibhāga-śāstra*, *Mahāyāna-śradhotpāda-śāstra*
masters	Dharmatrāta[23]	Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva	Asaṅga, Vasubandhu	Aśvaghoṣa, Sāramati[24]
dharmas	75 dharmas	emptiness of dharmas	three natures, three non-natures, 100 dharmas based on consciousness	all dharmas arise in dependence on tathāgatagarbha
consciousness	six consciousnesses	emptiness of the six consciousnesses	eight impure consciousnesses	the eighth consciousness is established by the tathāgatagarbha dependent arising

23 A master of the Sarvāstivāda school. See Mochizuki 3543.

24 He is the author of *Dasheng fajie wu chabie lun* 大乘法界無差別論, T 1626: 31.1627. Fazang wrote a commentary on it titled *Dasheng fajie wu chabie lun bingxu* 大乘法界無差別論疏 并序, T 1838. See Mochizuki 925–926.

dharmas that dependently arise	existent	empty	both existent and empty	neither existent nor empty, fusion of phenomena and principle
turning to Mahāyāna from Hīnayāna	followers of two vehicles do not become Buddha	beings of determinate nature of two vehicles do not become Buddha, some of the beings of indeterminate nature turn to Bodhisattva path	beings of determinate nature of two vehicles do not become Buddha, beings of indeterminate nature turn to Mahāyāna	both beings of determinate nature and beings of indeterminate nature turn to Mahāyāna
vehicles (a)	only three vehicles	both three vehicles and one-vehicle: three vehicles are revealed, one-vehicle is hidden	three vehicles	only one-vehicle
vehicles (b)	lesser vehicle	three vehicles	three vehicles	one-vehicle
five teachings	lesser vehicle	elementary teaching of Mahāyāna	elementary teaching of Mahāyāna	advanced teaching of Mahāyāna

Mahāyāna from Hīnayāna and vehicles.[25] In Fazang's classification of teachings these four lineages can be realated to the first three of the five teachings.[26] Hīnayāna represents the lesser vehicle, Madhyamaka and Yogācāra the elementary teachings of Mahāyāna, and Tathāgatagarbha the advanced teaching of Mahāyāna.

The interfusion of *xing* and *xiang* in Fazang's works

While Fazang's Huayan master Zhiyan mainly applied various tenets of Yogācāra philosophy, Fazang often referred to Madhyamaka in his works. As KAMATA Shigeo demonstrated, the great master of the Sanlun 三論 lineage, Jizang 吉藏 (549–623),[27] had a considerable impact on Fazang's philosophy.[28] Fazang intended to transcend the scope of Yogācāra by incorporating elements of Madhyamaka. In his commentary on the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, in which he discussed the nature of dependent arising (*yuanqi xing* 緣起性), he argued that it is actually both existent and empty, that these two concepts complement one another and form one unity. Nāgārjuna explained that existence does not differ from emptiness (*you bu yi kong* 有不異空), as Asaṅga made clear that emptiness does not differ from existence (*kong bu yi you* 空不異有). However,

> The later generation of philosophers lived in a degenerate age and their wisdom was slight. If they heard about the emptiness [of dependent arising], they said that [this concept] interrupts causality. If they heard about the existence [of dependent arising], they said that [this concept] obstructs real emptiness (*zhenkong* 真空). Therefore, Bhāvaviveka refuted the existence that is in contradiction with emptiness. Making this extreme view return to emptiness is the only way to show the existence that is identical with emptiness (*jikong zhi you* 即空之有). Thus, causality is not lost. Dharmapāla and others refuted the emptiness that extinguishes existence. To establish causality is the only way to reveal the emptiness that is identical with existence (*jiyou zhi kong* 即有之空). Thus, real nature (*zhenxing* 真性) is not hidden. Each of these two masters refuted one extreme; thus, they show the middle path together. Their views mutually become complete, and are not contradictory.
>
> 後代論師爲時澆慧薄。聞空謂斷因果。聞有謂隔真空。 是以清辨破違空之有。令蕩盡歸空。 方顯即空之有。 因果不失。 護法等破滅有之空。 令因果確立。 方顯即有之空。 真性不隱。 此二士各破一邊共顯中道。 此乃相成非相破也。[29]

25 He expounds only on the aspects of dharmas, consciousness and vehicles in his commemtary on the *Dasheng fajie wuchabie lun*. Here the explanation of the vehicles is slightly different. I refer to it with a (b) in the table. See T 1838: 44.61c13–c28.

26 The system of the five teachings (lesser vehicle, elementary teaching of Mahāyāna, advanced teaching of Mahāyāna, sudden and perfect) was first established by Zhiyan, but it was Fazang who used this scheme in his works exclusively. For detailed studies of the formulation and content of the five teachings, see Cook 1970, Liu 1981, Gregory 1991: 116–135.

27 For an introduction to Jizang's philosophy, see Liu 1994: 82–187.

28 Kamata 1965: 134–143, 325–331.

29 T 1790: 39.430c16–22. A slightly different version of this passage appears in *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqizhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章, T 1886: 45.501a16–25. For a translation of this version, see Liu 1979: 379–380.

This passage can be regarded as a Huayan contribution and solution to the well-known debate between the followers of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka on the theory of the three natures advocated by the Yogācārins.[30] Yogācārins held that though the imaginary nature is empty the dependent nature and the perfect nature have both empty and real aspects. Those things that arise out of the seeds contained in *ālaya* are empty, but the *ālaya* and the seeds are real. The perfect nature is presented as the pure *ālaya* in the *Cheng weishi lun*; it must therefore be the ultimate reality, and cannot be empty.[31] Being advocates of the emptiness of all dharmas, the Mādhyamikas refuted the existence of these two natures as well. In order to harmonize these two views, Fazang formulated a Huayan interpretation of the doctrine of three natures. He wrote that each of the three natures has an empty and an existent aspect:[32]

> Each of the three natures has two aspects. The two aspects of the perfect [nature] are changlessness and responding to condition. The two aspects of the dependent [nature] are semblance of existence and being without self-nature. The two aspects of the imaginary nature appear to have being to the ordinary senses and have non-existence in reality.
>
> 三性各有二義。真中二義者。一不變義。二隨緣義。依他二義者。一似有義。二無性義。所執中二義者。一情有義。二理無義。[33]

	EMPTINESS	BEING
perfect nature	changelessness	responding to condition
dependent nature	without self-nature	semblance of existence
imaginary nature	non-existent in reality	appearing to have being to common sense
	REAL NATURE	FALSE CHARACTERISTICS

As the empty aspects of the three natures are identical, and the existent aspects are also identical, the identity of the three natures is established. The former aspects are designated as "the eternal origin without destroying derivative 不壞末而常本," and the latter aspects as "the eternal derivative without moving origin 不動本而常末." With these designations he places the question into the context of Chinese philosophy. On the other hand, the empty aspects are not identical with the existent aspects; hence, the difference between the three natures is established as well. Fazang concludes with the typical Huayan statement that "reality includes the false derivative and falsehood penetrates the source of reality; it is the interfusion and non-obstruction of nature and characteristics 真該妄末妄徹真源。性相通融無障無礙 ."

30 Bhāvaviveka criticised the doctrine of three natures in chapter five of *Madhyamaka-hṛdaya śāstra* and in *Prajñāpradīpa*. See Ruegg 1981: 65.

31 Liu 1979: 377–379.

32 I used Liu's translation of these terms. See Liu 1979: 365. For a further explanation of this Huayan doctrine, see Cook 1970: 30–53; 1977: 59–61.

33 T 1886: 45.499a13–15.

Various versions of "interfusion of nature and characteristics," such as interpenetration of nature and characteristics (*xingxiang jiaoche* 性相交徹) and perfect interfusion of nature and characteristics (*xingxiang yuanrong* 性相圓融), are found throughout Fazang's works.[34] Terms such as real-false and origin-derivative frequently occur in the Chinese Buddhist texts, but the paradigm of *xingxiang* seems to be a novelty. Where does it originate?

Lusthaus attributes this invention to Xuanzang, who was a prominent figure of his day and Fazang's contemporary. In verses 5 and 7 of his translation of *Triṃśikā* he – supposedly deliberately – altered the original Sanskrit text through the interpolation of *xingxiang*, though he is famous for the accuracy of his translations. In the definitions of *mano-vijñāna* and the five consiousnesses we read that "discerning perceptual-objects is its nature and characteristic" and "willing-deliberating is its nature and characteristic", respectively.[35] In the *Cheng weishi lun*, Xuanzang explains *xing* and *xiang* as self-nature (*svabhāva*, *zixing* 自性) and activity-characteristic (*ākāra*, *xingxiang* 行相), respectively. In the case of the five consiousnesses, discerning perceptual-objects is their self-nature, and the functioning (*yong* 用) of this nature is their activity-characteristic. In the same way, the willing-deliberating is the self-nature of the *mano-vijñāna*, and the functioning of this nature is its activity-characteristic. The text goes on to say that these natures and functions define each consciousness. This is to say that the self-natures of the consciousnesses are none other than their activities.

As Xuanzang's usage of *xing* versus *xiang* is confined to a rather technical discussion of Yogācāra, other considerations should be taken into account in tracing Fazang's application of *xing*. First, it can be explained as emptiness of self-nature (*zixing kong* 自性空) because the ultimate nature of dharmas is emptiness. There is no doubt that this is the stance of Madhyamaka in this discussion. Thus, the interfusion of nature and characteristics is another sinitic explanation of the famous Mahāyāna formula, "emptiness is form and form is emptiness" just like "principle is phenomena", advocated by the first patriarch of the Huayan lineage, Du Shun 杜順 (557–640). With the introduction of this short expression, interfusion of nature and characteristics, Fazang managed to achieve the same goal as with the discussion of the three natures: to harmonize Yogācāra and Madhyamaka. Second, *xing* can refer to *tathāgatagarbha*, or Buddha-nature that leads to another explication on the basis of the Chinese transmission of Yogācāra that includes Tathāgatagarbha teachings. One of the important tenets of Huayan Buddhism is the theory of nature-origination (*xingqi* 性起), which clarifies how the world evolves out of a pure mind.[36] Thus, *xing* means the nature out of which the world evolves, and *xiang* represents the

34 Yoshizu 1983.

35 For a discussion of *xingxiang* in Xuanzang's translation, see Lusthaus 2002: 371–373.

36 This name originates from the title of Chapter 32 of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, *Baowang rulai xingqi pin* 寶王如來性起品. The version of the eighty-fascicle *Huayan jing* will be discussed below.

characteristics of the outer world evolved from nature. However, this Yogācāra is not the elementary teaching of Mahāyāna represented by the teachings of Xuanzang, but rather the advanced teaching of Mahāyāna, that is Tathāgatagarbha. Nonetheless, this deeper level of interfusion apropos of *xing* and *xiang* would later be discovered and discussed by the fourth patriarch of the Huayan lineage, Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839),[37] who was the most loyal disciple of Fazang, though they never met.

Ten Differences between Faxingzong and Faxiangzong

Fazang's disciple, Huiyuan 慧苑 (673–743), did not discuss the teachings of the two Indian masters elaborated in great detail by Fazang, putatively because the tenet of dependent arising did not play a central role in his philosophy.[38] Chengguan, however, took up this topic again in his commentary on the *Huayan jing*. At the beginning of his account of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka, he recapitulates the two versions of three periods summarised by the third patriarch.[39] He uses the names *faxiang dasheng* and *wuxiang dasheng* introduced by Fazang, but he often refers to them as two *zong*s 宗. Like Fazang, he arrives at the conclusion that these two *zong*s complement one another; neither of them can stand alone, and they must be combined. It is important to note that at the end of this section in his *Subcommentary on the Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔), Chengguan identifies Madhyamaka as *faxingzong*:

> From the aspect of the first school, the *faxiangzong* is the ultimate [meaning of the teaching] and *faxingzong* is not ultimate. From the aspect of the second school, the *faxingzong* is the ultimate, and the *faxiangzong* is not ultimate. Therefore, they are both ultimate and not ultimate, and equally share the principle.
>
> 謂約初門。則法相宗爲了。法性宗非了。若約後門。則法性宗爲了。法相宗非了。既皆二義了。二義不了。於理則齊。[40]

As Chengguan continues, in order to combine these two lineages first the differences between them should be known. He lists ten differences:[41]

(1) one-vehicle or three vehicles 一乘三乘

(2) one nature or five natures 一性五性

(3) consciousness is only real or false 唯心真妄

37 For his biography, see Hamar 2002. For his philosophy, see Hamar 1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2003a, 2003b, 2004.

38 Yoshizu 1983: 308–309. For a recent study on Huiyuan's philosophy, see Li 2000.

39 T 1735: 35.510b23–c22. T 1736: 36.52c7–53b27. *Xinxiu huayan jing shuchao* 新修華嚴經疏鈔, vol. 1. 547–564.

40 T 1736: 36.53c18–20.

41 T 1735: 35.511a2–6.

(4) the *tathatā* is dependent arising or immovable 真如隨緣凝然

(5) the emptiness and existence related to the three natures are identical or different 三性空有即離

(6) the number of living beings and buddhas is not increasing or not decreasing 生佛不增不減

(7) the two truths are identical or different, as well emptiness and existence are identical or different 二諦空有即離

(8) the four characteristics are simultaneous or successive 四相一時前後

(9) the subject and the object of enlightenment are identical or different 能所斷證即離

(10) the body of buddha is unconditioned or conditioned 佛身無爲有爲

In each of the ten statements, the first part is the tenet of the *faxingzong* whereas the second is that of the *faxiangzong*. For example, one nature and one-vehicle form part of the doctrines of *faxingzong*, and the three vehicles and five natures are proclaimed by *faxiangzong*.

The first two differences are lumped together as the one-vehicle, and three vehicles are closely associated with one nature and three natures, respectively.[42] If the doctrine of five natures is regarded as the ultimate teaching, then the doctrine of three vehicles is evident. Those who have the *śrāvaka*-nature belong to the *śrāvaka*-vehicle, those who have the *pratyekabuddha*-nature belong to the *pratyekabuddha*-vehicle, those who have the bodhisattva-nature belong to the bodhisattva-vehicle. Those who do not have a determinate nature can belong to any of the three vehicles, while those who do not have an untainted nature do not belong to any of the three vehicles but to the vehicle of men and gods. Thus, the five vehicles are established. In contrast to this stance, the *faxingzong* accepts the doctrine of one nature, i.e. universal salvation, as the ultimate teaching; it therefore proclaims the one-vehicle.

In fact, the question of Buddha-nature is a long debated topic in East Asian Buddhism. It is a well-known story in the history of Chinese Buddhism that Daosheng 道生 (ca. 360–434) was bold enough to argue against the so-called southern translation of the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* which says that *icchantika*s can never become Buddha.[43] After the northern translation of this *sūtra* supported Daosheng's claim, the view of

42 This is discussed in great detail in the *Commentary* and *Subcommentary*. See T 1735: 35.511a6–512b13. T 1736: 36.54a25–61b10. *Xinxiu huayan jing shuchao* 新修華嚴經疏鈔, vol. 1. 566–642.

43 For Daoan's view on *icchantika*s, see Kim 1990: 34–38. The *Fo shuo daban nihuan jing* 佛說大般泥洹經 (T 376) translated by Faxian 法顯 and Buddhabhadra was called the southern text, while the *Daban nieban jing* 大般涅槃經 (T 374) translated by Dharmakṣema was known as the northern text. See Ch'en 1964: 113–114. For a study on the Buddha-nature in the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*, see Liu 1982.

universal liberation became widespread in China. However, Xuanzang took up the orthodox Yogācāra position and excluded *icchantika*s from salvation. But even some of his disciples did not share the opinion of their teacher. His most talented student, Fabao 法寶 (early 8th c.), claimed in *Yisheng foxing jiujing lun* 一乘佛性究竟論 that one-vehicle was the actual teaching (*shijiao* 實教) and the three vehicles were only provisional teachings.[44] His other disciple Huizhao 慧沼 (650–714) refuted Fabao's views in his *Nengxian zhongbian huiri lun* 能顯中邊慧日論.[45] Approximately during Chengguan's lifetime, a long debate on this problem raged in Japan between the Hossō 法相 monk Tokuitsu 德一 (780?–842?), and the founder of the Tendai 天台 school, Saichō 最澄 (767–822), resulting in several works by these two eminent scholars.[46]

The next eight differences are discussed under the rubrics of the elementary and advanced teachings of Mahāyāna.[47] On the level of the elementary teaching, mostly the characteristics are elaborated, the nature of dharmas, i.e. their absolute aspect, appears only as one of the hundred dharmas.[48] On the other hand, the advanced teaching mainly expounds on the nature of dharmas, and the way in which characteristics can revert to nature. This is to say that the dharmas, like *skandha*s, are empty, and their emptiness is their nature. The *faxingzong* also teaches about the characteristics, but its main purport is to reveal nature as the enigmatic subtlety (*xuanmiao* 玄妙). This explanation seems to be in accord with the tenets of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka, as Yogācāra teaches the doctrine of a hundred dharmas, and Madhyamaka emphasises emptiness as the ultimate reality of dharmas. The third and fourth differences touch upon the nature of the *ālayavijñāna*, which is a key issue in the Chinese transmision of Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha philosophies.[49]

According to the *faxiangzong*, the eighth consciousness, the *ālayavijñāna*, possesses only the aspect of *saṃsāra* and is only tainted; Chengguan therefore depicts it as "false". This impure consciousness is the cause of both rebirth in *saṃsāra* and attaining *nirvāṇa*. He cites Xuanzang's translation of *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* as a source for this statement.[50] In contrast to this, the *faxingzong* argues that this consciousness also has an aspect of the absolute mind (*zhenxin* 真心) due to the untainted *tathāga-*

44 Groner 2000: 103–104.

45 T 1863.

46 In this debate, Saichō often referred to the arguments of Fabao. See Groner 2000: 91–106.

47 T 1735: 35.512c12–513a13; T 1736: 36.62c27–67b28; *Xinxiu huayan jing shuchao* 658–702.

48 The *tathatā* is one of the unconditioned dharmas (*asaṃskṛta-dharma*s). See Lusthaus 2002: 553.

49 Paramārtha (499–569) played a crucial role in spreading Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha philosophies in China, although these teachings had been known to the Dilun 地論 masters before his arrival in China. For the process of the transmission of Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha teachings, see Paul 1984 and Gimello 1976: 212–337.

50 *She dasheng lunben* 攝大乘論本, T 1594: 31.133b15–16. For a detailed study on the concept of *ālayavijñāna* in the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, see Waldron 2003: 128–170.

tagarbha. He refers to the famous statement from the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論) according to which the *saṃsāra* and that which is beyond *saṃsāra* are fused in *ālayavijñāna*.[51]

The issue at stake is the relationship between the Absolute and phenomena.[52] Is the *tathatā*, the Absolute, dependent arising, or is it immovable? Does the Absolute have anything to do with the phenomenal world? According to the interpretation of the final teaching of Mahāyāna (i.e. *faxingzong*), the Absolute and phenomena can be described with the 'water and wave' metaphor. Due to the wind of ignorance, waves of phenomena rise and fall, yet they are not different in essence from the water of the Absolute. In contrast with this explanation, the elementary teaching of Mahāyāna (i.e. *faxiangzong*) can be presented by the metaphor of 'house and ground'. The ground supports the house but is different from it.[53] Referring to the same scriptural sources as Fazang does, Chengguan claims that the dependent arising of *tathatā* is taught on the level of advanced teaching. However, he also emphasises that *tathatā* not only has a dependent arising aspect, but also an immovable one. It can be immovable because it is dependent arising, and it is dependent arising because it is immovable. If the water were to be deprived of its nature of moisture, how could it create waves under the influence of wind? Phenomena can be established by retaining the self-nature of the Absolute. On the other hand, if *tathatā* is not dependent arising, its essence cannot penetrate conditions (*bianyuan* 遍緣). If its essence cannot be found in conditions, how can it be unchanged (*bubian* 不變)? These two aspects are not contradictory, but complement one another.

The next topic touches upon the question of differing opinions between the followers of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka on the status of the three natures. Chengguan seems to be quite aware of the dispute on this matter in Indian Buddhism. As we saw above, Yogācāra attributed emptiness only to the imaginary nature, retaining some kind of existence of the other two natures. Chengguan explains that according to *faxiangzong* the dependent nature has a resembling existence and is therefore not nonexistent (*siyou buwu* 似有不無). Thus, it cannot be identical with the perfect nature that is revealed through the absence of self-nature. However, according to the *faxingzong*, the absence of self-nature in the dependent nature is identical with the perfect nature, and as absence of self-nature is emptiness, thus the perfect nature is iden tical with emptiness. This way, *faxingzong* demonstrates that the perfect nature is empty, just like the imaginary nature. The dependent arising (*yinyuan* 因緣) includes all three aspects, being identical with both emptiness and existence; hence, these are not separate.

The sixth difference is related to the first and second differences. According to the five natures of *faxiangzong*, beings of the fifth nature divested themselves of

51 T 1666: 32.576b8–9. Hakeda 36, Girard 2004: 28–29.

52 Whalen Lai translated and analysed the relevent part of the *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章. See Lai 1986.

53 Ibid., 2–3.

Buddha-nature forever and can never become Buddha. Consequently, they can never leave the realm of living beings; they are sentenced to maintain this world. Thus, this realm cannot decrease. The *faxingzong* teaches that the one principle is ubiquitous (*yili qiping* 一理齊平), that is to say the potency of becoming Buddha is inherent in all living beings including *icchantika*s. The realm of living beings cannot decrease, while the realm of Buddha cannot increase. Why? Because both living beings and buddhas have already been in the domain of *faxing*, and *faxing* cannot increase *faxing*. This is similar to how the Eastern space cannot add anything to the Western space, i.e. the Western space cannot increase with the decrease of the Eastern space. In other words, Buddha and sentient beings share the same absolute nature; there is therefore nothing to increase or decrease.

In the next topic, two questions are discussed: first, the identity or difference of two truths; then, the identity or difference of emptiness and existence. These are closely related as emptiness and existence are regarded, especially by Madhyamaka, as absolute truth and mundane truth, respectively. According to *faxiangzong*, the mundane truth and the absolute truth are different, while according to *faxingzong* they are in fact identical, and as the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* states it is only an *upāya* that there are two truths.[54] The Absolute is not beyond the mundane, it is Absolute if it is identical with the mundane. The former concentrates on discriminating the two truths, while the latter tends to fuse them. Chengguan warns against clinging to any of these positions one-sidedly. The *faxiangzong* argues that the cause ceases when the fruit is produced (*guosheng yinmie* 果生因滅). This way, the extremes of nihilism and eternalism are avoided, as existence is not eternal due to the cessation of cause, and is not interrupted due to the production of fruit. The way in which the *faxingzong* avoids the two extremes is to underline that emptiness is the emptiness that is identical with existence (*jiyou zhi kong* 即有之空), and existence is the existence that is identical with emptiness (*jikong zhi you* 即空之有). It is therefore empty but not interrupted, and existent but not eternal. Non-existence and existence are neither identical, nor different. This is how the middle way is achieved. If they were identical, then the meaning of existence and non-existence would be abolished. If they were different, then it would lead to the extremes of nihilism and eternalism. As is quite obvious, the differing views of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka on the absolute truth are found here. As we discussed above, Yogācāra does not accept the emptiness of absolute nature that is the absolute truth, while Madhyamaka strongly argued for it.

The *faxiangzong* propounds the successiveness of the four characteristics (birth, duration, differentiation, cessation),[55] which is to say that something that was not existent is born due to various conditions. It then endures and in this duration it changes,

54 For the relevant passage cited by Chengguan, see T 374: 12.443a7–19.

55 For the relevant passage from *Cheng weishi lun* cited by Chengguan, see T 1585: 31.6a8–17. For the English translation, see Cook 1999: 34–35.

and finally it reverts to non-existence. According to the *faxingzong*, the past, present and future are all empty; their essential natures are therefore extinct, and this is what Chengguan calls returning to nature through coalescence with characteristics (*hui-xiang guixing* 會相歸性). In this way, *faxingzong* establishes that the four characteristics are simultaneous.

The ninth difference concerns the result of religious practice. The *faxiangzong* states that the object and subject of enlightenment are different. It says that there are two aspects of wisdom: wisdom that eliminates delusion (*duanhuo* 斷惑) and wisdom that realises principle (*zhengli* 證理). According to one of the interpretations, the fundamental nondiscriminating wisdom (*genben zhi* 根本智), i.e. Buddha's absolute wisdom, is able to eliminate the propensities (*suimian* 隨眠) of delusions concerning both principle and phenomena, while the subsequently acquired wisdom (*houde zhi* 後得智), i.e. wisdom related to the ordinary world, cannot. The other opinion is that this latter wisdom can eliminate only the propensities of delusions concerning phenomena.[56] Consequently, the fundamental wisdom and the subsequently acquired wisdom are different. Regarding the wisdom that realises the principle, it says that wisdom that is the subject of enlightenment is conditioned (*youwei* 有爲), but the principle that is realised by this wisdom is unconditioned (*wuwei* 無爲). Thus, the subject and object of enlightenment are not identical. The *faxingzong* also discusses two aspects of wisdom. It shows that in both cases wisdom and the object of wisdom are not different. The wisdom that eliminates the delusion (*huo* 惑) and the delusion that is eliminated, in fact, share the same substance. If we search for the origin of delusion, it cannot be found anywhere; it is thus has a nonabiding origin (*wuzhu ben* 無住本). Therefore, the origin of delusion is nonabiding; that is to say, it does not have an origin (*wuben* 無本). Next, this nonabiding origin is nothing more than a different name for the ultimate truth (*shixiang* 實相). Thus, the origin of the delusion is the essence of wisdom, and consequently their essences are not different. Regarding wisdom that realises the principle, Chengguan argues that the essence of wisdom is being without thought (*wunian* 無念), and it can be defined only with the help of delusion; thus, wisdom does not have a self-nature (*zixing* 自性). This absence of self-nature is also the essence of *tathatā* that is realised in the process of enlightenment. As wisdom, subject, and the *tathatā*, object, have the same essence, i.e. not having self-nature, the identity of subject and object is established.

The last topic revolves around the conditioned or unconditioned nature of the body of Buddha. The main divergence lies in what the two lineages regard as the support of the transcendental wisdom. According to the *faxiangzong*, it is the seeds of the saṃsāric consciousness (*shengmie shizhong* 生滅識種), while according to the *faxingzong* it is the *tathāgatagarbha*. The *Cheng weishi lun* clearly states that the

56 This is discussed in *Cheng weishi lun*, which is cited by Chengguan. See T 1585: 31.54c29–55a6. For the English translation, see Cook 1999: 337–338.

four kinds of wisdom include all conditioned qualities of the stage of Buddha.[57] As the four kinds of wisdom are born of seeds, they must therefore be conditioned. In addition, if the consciousness that gives birth to wisdom has a nature of *saṃsāra*, wisdom that is born out of it must be conditioned. The four kinds of wisdom are included in the three bodies of Buddha. Moreover, one of these four kinds of wisdom, the great perfect mirror wisdom (*mahādarśana-jñāna*, *dayuanjing zhi* 大圓鏡智), creates what a Buddha receives for his own use or enjoyment (*zi shouyong* 自受用); therefore, the body of retribution (*saṃbhogakāya, baoshen* 報身) is conditioned and untainted (*youwei wulou* 有爲無漏). However, the *tathāgatagrabha*, the supporter of wisdom is eternal, thus, that which is supported, i.e. wisdom, must also be eternal. The *Awakening of Faith* distinguishes between two kinds of enlightenment: one is that which beings originally possess (*benjue* 本覺), the other is that which is attained through cultivation (*shijue* 始覺).[58] Consequently, the former is eternal as it exists as a principle (*liyou* 理有), whereas the latter is not because it requires conditions in order to be generated. Chengguan abolishes the distinction between these two kinds of enlightenment, stating that they are both eternal. On the one hand, enlightenment attained through cultivation from the aspect that it is generated it must be regarded as conditioned. On the other hand, it is identical with the nature of *tathāgatagarbha*, and thus is unconditioned. Even the *nirmāṇakāya* of the three bodies of Buddha is therefore eternal. If this is eternal, then the more subtle *saṃbhogakāya* must be eternal as well. Chengguan adds that wisdom must be identical with essence because if it existed outside essence then it would not be eternal.

In order to evaluate the content of these differences it is worth examining the scriptural sources that Chengguan quotes to substantiate his statements.[59] As we might expect, Chengguan often refers to the *Cheng weishi lun* and other Yogācāra works in discussing the teaching of *faxiangzong*, and cites Madhyamaka and Tathāgatagarbha scriptures to demonstrate the arguments of *faxingzong*. However, we also find Yogācāra works (*Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*) and Mahāyāna *sūtra*s (*Lotus Sūtra*, *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*, *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*) under the rubric of *faxingzong*. It is important to note that the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* and Prajñāpāramitā scriptures are cited by both *faxiangzong* and *faxingzong*.

57 T 1585: 31.56b1–2. Cook 1999: 348.

58 Hakeda 38–42, Girard 2004: 30–37.

59 These references are included in *Xinxiu huayanjing shuchao*. Some of the scriptures listed here are well-known Indian ones, others have survived only in Tibetan and Chinese translations, and we also find works that were presumably written in China. I use the Sanskrit titles whenever they are available or have reconstructed versions. For the reconstructed titles, I am indebted to Demiéville 1978 and Conze 1982.

	faxiangzong	*faxingzong*
1. one-vehicle or three vehicles 2. one nature or five natures	Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra T 676: 16.695a19–20, 22–25; 697b5. Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra T 220: 7.1066a28–b6. Daśacakrakṣitigarbha-sūtra* T 411: 13.769c4–27. Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra T 671: 16.526c8–11. Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāravyākhya T 1604: 31.594b1–17. Yogācārabhūmiśāstra T 1579: 30.478b13–c15; 720c23–26. T 1581: 30.888a20–21, b4–5; 900a16–17. Mahāyānasaṃgraha-upanibandhana T 1598: 31.447a25–b10.	Saddharmapuṇḍarika-sūtra T 262: 9.7c5; 8a17–19; 9a6–11; 11b14–15; 13c10–14; 15a18–19, a29–b3, b9c1–5; 17b7–10, 13–15; 18c14–15; 25c12–20; 30a15, a19–b1; 31b16–21; 50c20–51a1. Saddharmapuṇḍarikopadeśa* T 1519: 26.8b15–17; 8c25–9a3; 9a12–20; 18a4–5 Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra T 279: 10.275a19–21, 25–26; 444a10–11. Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra T 374: 12.365c6–7; 419b1–7; 420a23–25; 493b17–18; 522c23–24; 523c1–2; 524b8, c8–9, 11–16, 559a21–23; 574b11–28, c5–6 Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra T 1509: 25.369c13; 714a9–21. Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra T 671: 16.525c12–19; 527b2–20; 540a9–10; 541a11–12; 555a9–10. Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanāda-sūtra T 353: 12.219c5–18; 220c21; 223b8–9.

		Anuttarāśaya-sūtra T 669: 16.470b3–6; 472a24 Ratnagotravibhāga T 1611: 31.830b8–11; 831b6–9. Buddhatvaśāstra* T 1610: 31.788c19–23; 799a6–7. Ghanavyūha–sūtra T 682: 16. 774a13–16. Mahāyānasaṃgraha T 1594: 31.151b17–18. 1595: 31.212b17. 無量義經 T 276: 9.386a10–12. 百喻經 T 209: 4.548a22–23.
3. consciousness only is real or false	Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra T 1579: 30.478c12–16. Āryaśāsanaprakaraṇa* T 1602: 31.581a2–3. Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi T 1585: 31.14a17. Mahāyānasaṃgraha (Xuanzang's version) T 1594: 31.133b15–16.	Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda-śāstra* T 1666: 32. 576b8–9. Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra T 672: 16.594c11–14.

	faxiangzong	*faxingzong*
4. the tathatā is dependent arising or is immovable	Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi T 1585: 31.48a23–24.	Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanāda-sūtra T 353: 12.222c4–5. Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda-śāstra* T 1666: 32.576c13–14. Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra T 670: 16.510b4–8, 512b16–17.
5. the emptiness and existence related to the three natures are identical or different 6. the number of living beings and buddhas is not increasing or not decreasing	Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi T 1585: 31.45c8–11; 46b5–18.	Madhyamaka-śāstra T 1564: 30.33b11–12. Ghanavyūha-sūtra T 681: 16.746c10–11.
7. the emptiness and existence are identical or different, two truths are identical or different	Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi T 1585: 31.7c19–20; 12c4; 48a19–21. Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra T 1579: 30.653c27–654a6.	Madhyamaka-śāstra T 1564: 30.20b17–18. Nirvāṇa-sūtra T 374: 12.443a7–19. Mahāyānasaṃgraha (Paramārtha's version) T 1595: 31.53c5. Kāruṇikā-rājā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* T 245: 8.829a4–8, 9–13,16–17, 20.

8. the four characteristics are simultaneous or successive	Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi T 1585: 31.6a8–17.	Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda-śāstra* T 1666: 32.576c1–4. Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra T 475: 14.542b3–6. Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra T 670: 16.512c18–19.
9. the subject and the object of enlightenment are identical or different	Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi T 1585: 31.54c29–55a6.	Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra T 279: 10.134b5–6, 24–25. Nirvāṇa-sūtra T 374: 12.410c21, 27–28. Daśabhūmivyākhyāna T 1522: 26.133a10, 28–b2.
10. the body of Buddha is unconditioned or conditioned	Buddhabhūmyupadeśa T 1530: 26.301c1–8. Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi T 1585: 31.55b2–3; 56a7–11; 56b1–2.	Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra T 374: 12.374a21–23, a19–b2, b10–14; 388b26–27. Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra T 475: 14.542a17–18.

One-vehicle of *faxing*

Fazang's classification of teachings was at variance with that of his master Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668) in that he exclusively identified the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 with the perfect teaching while his master related it to the sudden teaching as well. In addition, they both regarded the *Huayan jing* as the separate teaching, and the *Lotus Sūtra* as the common teaching, but Fazang degraded the *Lotus Sūtra* to the level of the advanced teaching of the Mahāyāna.[60] He thus established the superior position of Huayan, and his awareness of it was certainly enhanced by the lavish support that he received from Empress Wu 武 (r. 684–705). Fazang was eager to demonstrate that the one-vehicle of Huayan is different from the one-vehicle of *Lotus Sūtra* and from the one-vehicle of *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*, proclaiming that the one-vehicle of Huayan is the basic one-vehicle (*genben yisheng* 根本一乘). Chengguan, however, identifies all one-vehicles as *faxing*, accepting them as his own tradition.[61] On the other hand, though he, unlike Fazang, does not draw a sharp distinction between separate and common teaching, he retains the superiority of Huayan:

> The ocean of this teaching is vast and profound; there is nothing that it does not include. Form and emptiness exchange their brightness, merit and function interpenetrate. Concerning its content, it contains the five teachings in their entirety. It comprises all teachings as far as the teaching of men and gods. This is the only way to reveal its profundity and broadness. It is similar to how rivers do not include the ocean, but the ocean must include rivers. Though it includes all rivers, it tastes salty everywhere. Therefore, every drop of the ocean is different from rivers. The previous four teachings do not include the perfect teaching, but the perfect teaching must include those four teachings. Although the perfect teaching includes the four teachings, it goes beyond them. Thus, ten virtues and five prohibitions can also be found in the perfect teaching, but they are not those of the third and the fourth teachings, not to speak about those of the first and the second teachings. [These four teachings] have teachings in common [with the perfect teaching], but they do not hold the same position. As this perfect teaching is described as broad, it is named immeasurable vehicles. It is said to be profound because this teaching reveals the one-vehicle. There are two kinds of one-vehicle. The first is the one-vehicle of common teaching that is common in the sudden and real [final] teachings. The second is the one-vehicle of separate teaching that perfectly comprises all merits. The separate teaching includes the common teaching, and the perfect teaching comprises all teachings.[62]
>
> 此教海宏深包含無外。色空交映德用重重。語其橫收全收五教。乃至人天總無不包。方顯深廣。其猶百川不攝大海。大海必攝百川。雖攝百川同一鹹味。故隨一適迥異百川。前之四教不攝於圓。圓必攝四。雖攝於四圓以貫之。故十善五戒亦圓教

60 Gregory 1991: 128–129; in his comprehensive book, Yoshizu Yoshihide discusses the seperate teaching of one-vehicle as a central concept of Fazang's teachings. He demonstrates the distinction between seperate and common teachings in Zhiyan's writings; then he treats various aspects of this question in Fazang's works. See Yoshizu 1991.

61 Yoshizu 1991: 470–477.

62 For a Japanese translation of this passage, see Yoshizu 1991: 473–474.

攝。上非三四。況初二耶。斯則有其所通無其所局。故此圓教語廣名無量乘。語深唯顯一乘。一乘有二。一同教一乘。同頓同實故。二別教一乘。唯圓融具德故。以別該同皆圓教攝。[63]

Conclusion: is Huayan *faxingzong*?

It is quite clear from the discussion above that it was Chengguan who introduced the term *faxingzong*, and started to use the paradigm of *faxiangzong* versus *faxingzong*. In doing so, he had recourse to philosophical frameworks established by Fazang. First, in treating Divākara's classification of Indian Mahāyāna philosophies, Chengguan identified Madhyamaka with *faxingzong*. Second, on the basis of the paradigm of *xing* versus *xiang* propounded by Fazang, Tathāgatagarbha teachings also came to be included in *faxingzong*. Thus explaining the ten differences between *faxiangzong* and *faxingzong*, the stance of *faxingzong* is described by the teachings of Madhyamaka and/or Tathāgatagarbha. In terms of scriptures that represent *faxiangzong* and *faxingzong*, we have seen that some scriptures belong to both categories. The paradigm of *faxiangzong* versus *faxingzong* is thus a hermeneutical, 'transscriptural' device for the classification of Mahāyāna teachings. It is more flexible than the classical Huayan classification of five teachings advocated by Fazang, which simply qualifies Yogācāra and Madhyamaka as elementary teachings of Mahāyāna, and Tathāgatagarbha as the final teaching of Mahāyāna. This paradigm attempts to sort out some principles in the giant corpus of Mahāyāna literature, and one group of principles or guidelines is called *faxiangzong* while the other is referred to as *faxingzong*. Consequently, the term *zong* 宗 should be rendered as a principle or guideline and definitely not as a 'school'.

When Chengguan elaborates on the ten differences, he says that *faxiangzong* is the elementary teaching of Mahāyāna while *faxingzong* is the final teaching of Mahāyāna. If *faxingzong* is the final teaching, it cannot be identified with Huayan, which represents the perfect teaching, the highest of all teachings. The final teaching claims that the *tathāgatagarbha* is not isolated from the world of life and death; it is thus described as the non-obstruction of principle and phenomena (*lishi wu'ai* 理事無礙) using the Huayan terminology. The perfect teaching also includes this important tenet, but it goes one step further. It advocates the notion that on the basis of the non-obstruction of principle and phenomena, the interrelatedness of phenomena becomes established. This interrelatedness is depicted as the non-obstruction of phenomena (*shishi wu'ai* 事事無礙).[64] As we have seen above, the perfect teaching includes the set of advanced principles called *faxingzong*, but they are not identical: "although the ocean includes all rivers, it tastes salty everywhere."

63 T 1735: 35.514a6–16.
64 Shih 1992: 138.

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HUAYAN AND CHAN

1. Introduction

Here, I would like to discuss the subject "Huayan and Chan." Although it might be impossible to give a sufficient argument to this extremely wide issue, it is necessary to begin with an introduction to the two concepts, Huayan and Chan, in order to better understand the topic.

1.1 The Concept of Huayan

To the West, Huayan 華嚴 (J. *Kegon*; Skt. *Avataṃsaka*) may not be such a familiar concept as it is to East Asia, where traces of influence can still be found in the culture. For example, take Japan, the Great Buddha of the Tōdaiji Temple 東大寺 in Nara is the statue of Vairocana Buddha, known as the principal Buddha of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經). In China, at the centre of the Longmen Grottoes (Longmen shiku 龍門石窟), is also located the statue of Vairocana Buddha that is said to be modeled after Wu Zetian 武則天 (623 or 625–705), the only female monarch in the history of imperial China. Finally, at the Borobuḍur in Indonesia, a part of the cloisters surrounding this highly constructed architecture is decorated with relief in the motif of the story from the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, becoming the *Entering the Realm of Reality* (*Ru fajie pin* 入法界品), which was taken in as the final chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* afterward.

At this point, it is useful to ask to what "Huayan" does refer.

The meaning of Huayan can be approached from three different aspects. First, it refers to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, one of the principal scriptures of Mahāyāna Buddhism, including three comprehensive translations in Chinese: the 60-fascicle, 80-fascicle and 40-fascicle versions. (But, the last one is different from the former two. It is that which the *Gaṇḍavyūha* was enlarged to.) As a compiled scripture, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* might have assumed its integral form by the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th century. This scripture reveals a peculiar vision of the Buddha's Enlightenment and the Way for bodhisattvas to achieve enlightenment.

Secondly, Huayan also stands for the doctrine of the Huayan school, an independent philosophy system based upon the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. This school was founded, in outline, during the early Tang Dynasty, from the 7th century to the beginning of the 8th century in China.

Finally, besides the school itself, Huayan also represents the whole thought in general that has developed under the strong influence of the *Huayan jing*, the Chinese version of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. In fact, it had such a considerable impact on the Buddhist world in East Asia – such as China, Korea and Japan – that reflections can also be found in the teachings of Tiantai 天台 school, Sanlun 三論 school and Chan 禪 school, and so on. Those three schools were especially influenced by the philosophical ideas of the *Huayan jing* during the formation of their thought.

1.2 The Concept of Chan

Compared to Huayan, the term *chan* 禪 (J. zen) must be much more familiar to the West. As a Buddhist terminology, *chan* was originally derived from *channa* 禪那 or *chanding* 禪定, the Chinese equivalents of *dhyāna* in Sanskrit. In this sense, *chan* stands for an intuitive method of spiritual training or mental concentration aimed at tranquilizing and purifying the mind.

In Buddhism, besides *chan*, various synonyms are used without clear distinction between each another. One of them is *sanmei* 三昧 (Skt. *samādhi*, J. *sanmai, zanmai*). *Sanmei* originally refers to the state deep in meditation. Subsequently, this term comes to represent the way to be concentrating on something in Japan such as *dokusho-zanmai* 讀書三昧, that means to be absorbed in reading a book.

Another important instance of a popular synonym is *zhiguan* 止觀, a term frequently used to refer to contemplative practices by the Tiantai school. This school was established by Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597) of the Sui Dynasty (581–618) in China, who systemized a peculiar contemplative theory called *zhiguan* in one of his greatest treatises, entitled the *Mohe Zhiguan* 摩訶止觀.[1] The term *zhiguan* indicates two aspects of meditation: *zhi* 止 (Skt. *śamatha*), particularly emphasizes the meditative state of equanimity and comfort; while *guan* 觀 (*vipaśyanā*), represents the insight attained through contemplation, during which the true wisdom is to be realized by the practitioner. Involved in the teachings of the Tiantai school, this pair of concepts has been extensively accepted and generally acknowledged throughout the East Asian world.

Furthermore, the term *chan* also refers to *changuan* 禪觀, a broadened idea developed based upon *dhyāna*. *Chan,* in this sense, represents the contemplative practices in general that aim at an awakening stage.

Thirdly, and most frequently, *chan* stands for the Chan (J. Zen) school, one of the Buddhist traditions developed in China. Though the final goal of this school can

1 T 1911.

be regarded as the Great Meditation of the Buddha, it had actually assumed the fundamental form especially under the influence of Daoist ideas.

The Chan school contained various lineages. Two primary branches of this, which were developed during the Tang Dynasty (618–907), are the Northern Chan and the Southern Chan schools. The latter subsequently split into the so-called Five Lineages Seven Sects (*wujia qizong* 五家七宗), two of which were transmitted to Japan, the Linji (J. Rinzai) 臨濟 by Eisai 榮西 (1141–1215), the Caodong (J. Sōtō) 曹洞 by Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253). In addition, the Huangbo (J. Ōbaku) 黃檗宗, a sect similiar to the Linji, was born later in China and transmitted to Japan by Yinyuan (J. Ingen) 隱元 (1592–1673) during the Edo period (1600–1867).

The followers of Chan school must have been so proud of their "independent transmission out of doctrines (*jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳)" that they tended to refer themselves as *chanjia* 禪家 (the *chan* family). This appellation was particularly used in contrast to *jiaojia* 教家 (the doctrinal family), which the Chan school used to refer to as the Buddhist sects or schools that depended on particular scriptures or doctrines, that is to say, all schools and sects only except itself. However, objectively, such a classification from the viewpoint of the Chan school contains limitations. For instance, the Tiantai school with obvious practical characteristics might tend to be a member of *chanjia,* rather than *jiaojia.*

Finally, or fourthly, Chan also refers to the Chan thought, or Chan Buddhism (or Zen Buddhism), that has been generally accepted in the West.

2. Doctrines Concerning *Dhyāna* in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*

In consideration through the first paragraph, Huayan and Chan may seem to have little in common; except for the relation, to some degree, between the Huayan thought in its broadest meaning and Chan school's thought. However, further observation suggests otherwise. First, let us see whether any idea concerning meditative thought is taught in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka.*

2.1 Contemplative Vision of the Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra

The *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* that consists of seven Acts and eight Scenes reveals an amazingly large-scale imagination and fantasy of the Indian and Central Asian peoples. It is based upon such a vast vision that the scripture represents the true Way to Buddhahood, as well as that of bodhisattvahood.

Fundamentally, the vision of this scripture is based upon the world of the Buddha's Enlightenment and reveals the way for bodhisattvas to attain that Enlightenment, for which they have been determined and devoted themselves into entirely practices. Therefore, the scripture begins with a line to announce that the Buddha had accomplished His great Enlightenment, which says, "At one time the Buddha was in

the land of Magadha, in a state of purity, at the site of enlightenment, having just realized true awareness." Immediately after this announcement, a splendid world of beauty and magnificence emerged before the audience of the assembly: "The ground was solid and firm, made of diamond, adorned with exquisite jewel discs and myriad precious flowers, with pure clear crystals," and so forth.

Such a vision of the Buddha's Enlightenment is regarded as the fundamental, yet not the only stage, in the *Huayan jing*, for Vairocana Buddha, the principle buddha, was to be seen in several assemblies at the same time. For example, in *Ascent to the Palace of the Suyama Heaven* (Chapter 19), it is said that "due to the spiritual power," "without leaving the foot of the enlightenment trees and the peaks of the polar mountains," Vairocana Buddha "headed for the jewel-adorned hall of the palace of the Suyama Heaven." This is the second time that the Buddha was seen to move to a new stage where another Act was to begin. What fascinates us is the description of the Buddha to appear before another assembly without leaving the places He used to be. Thus "moving without leaving" is considered to be one of the Buddha's characteristics that are defined within the *Huayan jing*.

Another distinctive feature of the Buddha is His complete silence at the site of Enlightenment. In fact, in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* great bodhisattvas preached teachings instead of the Buddha, for whom various gods uttered verses of praise. Such unique treatment or comprehension of the Buddha might have been rooted in the insight into Truth attained through contemplative practices. In this respect, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* can also be regarded as sort of *dhyāna* scripture.

2.2 Analyses of Samādhi in the Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra

A series of close analyses of *samādhi* can be found in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka.* For instance, the chapter 12 of the *Huayan jing* named *Bodhisattva of Chief of the Good* makes clear the correspondence and interrelationship respectively between *samādhi* and the six sense-organs (*ṣaḍ indriyāṇi*, *liugen* 六根) or the six objects of cognition corresponding to the six sense-organs (*ṣaḍ viṣayāḥ*, *liujing* 六境). The whole analysis begins with an observation on the relationship between *samādhi* (concentration) and the function of the eyes. This says, "Entering right concentration in the eye-organ, Bodhisattva emerges from concentration in the field of form, showing the inconceivability of the nature of form." 於眼根中入正定 於色塵中從 定出示現色性不思議[2] That is to say, I guess, a person cannot only enter the right concentration by perceiving a vision, but also emerge from that perceived vision.

Another instance is *buddhānusmṛti-samādhi* (Ch. *nianfo sanmei,* J. *nenbutsu zan-mai* 念佛三昧) that is preached in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka.* To speak of *nianfo* 念佛, many of us in East Asia might tend to associate it with the invocation of the name of Amitābha Buddha, which is mainly preached in the Pure Land teachings.

2 T 279: 10.77c29–78a1.

Nevertheless, as a Buddhist term, *nianfo* originally meant meditating on the figure or world of a buddha. Therefore, *nianfo sanmei* refers to a kind of religious contemplation by means of visualizing and concentrating on an imaginary buddha, with which the practitioner is supposed to be eventually unified in his conscious mind. Since such a teaching was transmitted into East Asia including Japan, it has undergone a considerable transformation and resulted in a new style of Buddhist practice, oral invocation of the name of Amitābha Buddha; on the other hand, the original meaning has also survived.

The tenet of *buddhānusmṛti* can be found in the final book of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, which originally was an independent scripture entitled the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra.* Sudhana-śreṣṭhi-dāraka, the main character of this book as well as a truth pursuer who is to gradually deepen his state of mind and approach the world of the Buddha during his journey, which starts from his visit to the first teacher monk Meghaśrī under Manjuśrī's guidance. Meghaśrī himself has practiced a kind of *buddhānusmṛti* and attained "mindfulness of the buddhas from the universal light in which is concentrated the information of all sense objects (*nian yiqie zhufo jingjie zhihui guangming puxian famen* 念一切諸佛境界智慧光明普見法門)."[3] However, he admits that what he has gained is still superficial if compared with the awakening state of those great bodhisattvas who have respectively attained twenty-one kinds of meditations, from "the means of mindfulness of buddhas in the sphere of universal illumination of wisdom (*zhiguang puzhao nianfo men* 智光普照念佛門)" to "the means of mindfulness of buddhas in space (*zhu xukong nianfo men* 住虛空念佛門)."[4] This reminds us of the fact that Sudhana's journey for truth substantially begins with the practice of *buddhānusmṛti* that leads to a deep and profound contemplative world.

After his visits at least fifty-two (fifty-three, or fifty-four) teachers, Sudhana eventually gained a vision of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, from whom he was to receive the final lesson on journey. The details of Sudhana's first meeting with Samantabhadra are given in the scripture that says:

Then Sudhana, contemplating the body of the enlightening being Universally Good, saw in each and every pore untold multitudes of buddha-lands filled with buddhas. And in each buddha-land he saw the buddhas surrounded by assemblies of enlightening beings. And he saw that all those multitudes of lands had various bases, various forms, various arrays, various perimeters, various clouds covering the skies, various buddhas appearing, various enunciations of cycles of the Teaching.[5]

Observing Samantabhadra, in every pore, every part, or every feature of the bodhisattva's body, Sudhana "saw" infinite realms fulfilled with buddhas, each of whom was accompanied by one or innumerable great bodhisattvas. All of the buddha's realms that Sudhana saw were distinctive from one another. According to the

3 T 279: 10.334b22–23.
4 T 279: 10.334b24–c22.
5 Cleary 1987: 386.

Huayan school, these descriptions culminated as a theory of "one is all, all is one," or "one in all," "all in one." That is to say, each individual phenomenon embraces every other phenomenon, including the magnificent world of Truth. Thus, in each individual being is present the whole cosmos, and the life of which is also manifested within an individual life. Such observation seems to reflect nothing but the insight into the meditation world.

In Japanese, the tip of a finger, besides its literal meaning, is also an idiom to express something very small and trivial. If using this idiom, Huayan philosophy asserts that even within such a little fingertip there are present infinite buddhas as well as a vast world of truth.

Speaking in connection with this insight, in Chinese medicine, it is said that the five fingertips of a hand reveal the health condition of the body that is concerning with the whole movement of the cosmos. In this respect, we may recognize that any individual being is absolutely neither isolated nor trivial.

In connection, the song most selled now in Japan is titled "the only one flower", which is a metaphor of each person as an originally incomparable being.

3. The View of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* of the Huayan School: with a Special Reference to *Haiyin samādhi*

The *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, as above mentioned, can be regarded as a kind of large-scale *dhyāna* scripture. However, actually, such an aspect of this scripture was of little interest to the Huayan school, because it is inevitable for this school to be restricted by the limitations of the times during which it was founded, as well as that of the traditional interpretations through a long history that had begun even much earlier than the formation of the Huayan school.

If any teaching of meditation in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* did interest the Huayan followers, it must be the ocean-seal *samādhi* (Ch. *haiyin sanmei* 海印三昧, Skt. *sāgara-mudrā-samādhi*). This *samādhi* is often paired with *huayan samādhi* (*huayan sanmei* 華嚴三昧) (It is said a meditation into which Samantabhadra Bodhisattva entered), both of which can be found in the *Huayan jing*. According to the scripture, it is taught that "for the sake of the power of *haiyin samādhi,*" the bodhisattvas who have accomplished their stage of belief are enabled to perform various religious practices extensively, and to develop all kinds of virtues freely. However, *haiyin samādhi* in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* was not so much important as that in other Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures, including the *Wisdom Sūtras* (Skt. *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*).

Nevertheless, to the Huayan school, *haiyin samādhi* was regarded as the ultimate meditation of the Buddha. Fazang 法藏 (643–712), the systematizer of Chinese Huayan school, explicitly defined it as the basis of the doctrine of one-vehicle (Ch. yisheng 一乘, Skt. *ekayāna*). According to the Huayan school, *haiyin samādhi* refers to the Buddha's great meditation that makes all truth appear clearly and vividly, just

as all beings are reflected in a quiet ocean without a slightest wave. Thus, this reveals an insight into the origin of Buddhism of the Chinese Huayan followers.

In Korean Hwaŏm school, the first patriarch Ŭisang 義相 (義湘 625–702), also known as a co-disciple of Fazang, wrote a treatise entitled The *Diagram of the Realm of Reality* (*Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkyedo* 華嚴一乘法界圖), that consisted of a square seal-like illustration and annotations, and represented Uisang's unique perception of the Huayan world. Within that figurative design with some magic implication there are notes in verse that began with "the non-duality (*pŏpsŏng wŏnyung puri sang* 法性圓融不二相)" at the center. The verse on the upper right of the illustration says that within *haiyin samādhi* (K. *haein sammae*), all truth is to be seen actively and freely. Furthermore, the annotations also suggest that the three-constituents of the Buddhist world are the embodiment of *haiyin samādhi*, which is considered as the basis of the whole religious world. This notion of *haiyin samādhi* was to be the basis of Korean Hwaŏm school, as well as that of the Korean Sŏn Buddhism that assumed its main form under the influence of the former.

4. Treatises on Contemplation of the Huayan School

Although *haiyin samādhi* is the most significant contemplative theory of the Huayan school, contemplations organized in *Contemplation of the Realm of Reality* (*Fajie guanmen* 法界觀門)[6] and *The Ending of Delusion and Return to the Source* (*Wangjin huanyuan* 妄盡還源)[7] are most powerful in regard to the influence upon the descendent of Huayan.

It is generally accepted that *Contemplation of the Realm of Reality* made the pretense of Du Shun 杜順 (557–640) consists of three parts that correspond to the three stages of contemplation: the view that *śūnyatā* is the real nature of all phenomena (*zhenkong guan* 真空觀), the view that all phenomena are harmonious with the Truth (*lishiwu'ai guan* 理事無礙觀), and the view that everything has no obstruction each other, and, no matter how infinitesimal, contains the whole phenomenal world (*zhoubian hanrong guan* 周遍含容觀). In fact, among these views, only the first one can be considered to have clarified a contemplative stage to some extent. The latter two parts have rather described the insight gained through contemplation.

On the other hand, *The Ending of Delusion and Return to the Source* attributed to Fazang tends to be a manifestation of specific world-view that roots in contemplative experiences. At the very beginning of this treatise, referring to "the One Essence,"

6 This work is preserved by Chengguan's and Zongmi's commentary to this. See *Huayan fajie xuanjing* 華嚴法界玄鏡, T 1883. and *Zhu huayan fajie guanmen* 注華嚴法界觀門, T 1884. For an English translation of Du Shun's work with references to the commentaries, see Gimello 1976: 456–510. For an English translation of Chengguan's commentary, see Cleary 1983: 69–124.

7 The complete title of the work is *Xiu huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan* 修華嚴奥旨妄盡還源觀, T 1876. For an English translation, see Cleary 1983: 147–170.

the author defined it as "the inherently pure, complete and luminous essence." Such a definition reveals the Buddhistic world-view of the Huayan school after Fazang, in which the substantial essence *per se* is considered the root of the world of beings.

5. Li Tongxuan and the Contemplation of Buddha-light

Besides the Huayan school, another unique trend of Huayan study that was developed by Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (635–730) is also worth of attention. Li Tongxuan was a lay Buddhist who was a contemporary of Fazang. During his declining years, he was devoting himself into the study of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* and his effort resulted in an extraordinary commentary on this scripture. Differing from traditional interpretations by the Huayan school, Li Tongxuan's commentary was a challenging approach that was thoroughly practical in its point of view.[8]

In Chinese Buddhist history, Li Tongxuan is among those representative figures of the lay Buddhist tradition. Inheriting the efforts of his predecessors, Li Tongxuan organized a unique theory of contemplation named the contemplation of Buddha-light (*foguang guan* 佛光觀). This theory was based upon the descriptions in Chapter 9 of the *Huayan jing*, *Awakening by Light* which depicted the light that emanated from beneath the Buddha's feet and was to progressively illuminate the whole universe. Depending on these descriptions for his interpretation, Li Tongxuan attempted to trace that light in mind. He suggested that as the light expands further and further, so to the conscious self extends and becomes universalized more and more until the self is unified with universal light. Such a contemplative practice aims at the realization of emptiness or non-substance of the self.

Furthermore, Li Tongxuan also had a considerable influence on Buddhism of other East Asian countries. For example, it was due to his influence that Myōe Shōnin 明惠上人 (Kōben 高辨, 1173–1232), of the Kamakura period (1185–1333) in Japan, known as the restorer of Japanese Kegon school, initiated a new theory of contemplation.[9]

In any case, Li Tongxuan is a memorable figure of great importance to the development of East Asian Buddhism.

6. The Chan School and Huayan Philosophy

Conversely, how has Huayan philosophy been involved in the development of the Chan school? In *The Interrelationship between Huayan and Chan*, Takamine Ryōshū 高峰了州 introduced several Chan followers who were affected by the teachings of the Huayan scripture or the Huayan school.[10] One typical instance for this is

8 For Li Tongxuan, see Gimello 1983.
9 Girard 1990, Tanabe 1992.
10 Takamine 1956.

Yuanwu Keqin 圜悟克勤 (1063–1135), a Chan monk known as the compiler of *Biyan lu* 碧巖録, a Chan treatise of peculiar importance to the Linji Sect. This Chan monk did not only frequently refer to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, but also showed a tendency to comprehend it through his own religious experiences. Moreover, as a matter of philosophy and in relation to the history of thought, what interests us most is his critical view on the doctrine of the "four *dharmadhātu*s" that is considered to be ontology in Huayan philosophy.

The doctrine of the four *dharmadhātu*s (*si fajie* 四法界) classifies the world of reality into four categories: the realm of phenomena (*shi fajie* 事法界), the realm of noumenon (*li fajie* 理法界), the realm of nonobstruction between noumenon and phenomena (*lishi wu'ai fajie* 理事無礙法界), and the realm of nonobstruction among phenomena (*shishi wu'ai fajie* 事事無礙法界).[11] Showing a particular concern on this doctrine, Yuanwu indicated how these categories corresponded to those stages of Chan in one of his conversations with Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043–1121), a representative intellectual of his time.

In this conversation, Zhang Shangying argued that, "Huayan philosophy is great. It does clarify the ultimate stage of Chan." However, Yuanwu suggested, "Except for the former three realms. Only the realm of nonobstruction among phenomena does share something in common with Chan. Yet, none of them is to approach the realm of Truth as long as those conceptive categories exist. On the other hand, the sphere of Chan is beyond all conceptualizing." (*Luohuyelu* 羅湖野録, 1)

Yuanwu's suggestion is that only after the four categories or realms disappeared, would there emerge the stage of Chan that is rooted in the realm of nonobstruction among phenomena. To live among phenomena, without any obstruction to each other, is the goal as well as the liberated stage of Chan. Though this Chan monk criticized the Huayan school for its doctrinal limitations, nevertheless the worlds of Huayan and Chan are, in his thought, deeply interconnected with each other in substance.

7. Substitute for Conclusion

In connection with *sāgara-mudrā-samādhi*, above mentioned, I would lastly like to touch upon a curious question of *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏 by Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253), the first patriarch of Japanese Sōtō Zen. This famous Buddhist treatise contains a chapter named *kaiin-zanmai* 海印三昧 (Ch. *Haiyin sanmei*), which exactly shares the Chinese name with, though definitely differs from in contents. Why did he never mention the teaching of "*sāgara-mudrā-samādhi*" 海印三昧 that is taught in the *Huayan jing* as well as the theory of it by the Huayan school? This question is one of the subjects of my life-study.

11 Hamar 1998.

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JANA BENICKÁ

(HUAYAN-LIKE) NOTIONS OF INSEPARABILITY (OR UNITY) OF ESSENCE AND ITS FUNCTION (OR PRINCIPLE AND PHENOMENA) IN SOME COMMENTARIES ON "FIVE POSITIONS" OF CHAN MASTER DONGSHAN LIANGJIE

The so-called Northern Chan school of Chinese Buddhism is often said to have been heavily influenced by Huayan thought. With the demise of that school, and the rise of its rival, the Southern school, in the mid-eighth century, the importance of Huayan thought was downplayed.[1] It nevertheless continued to influence some trends of Chan, even despite Chan's alleged "anti-intellectualism". A case in point is the theory of the "five positions" (*wu wei* 五位) of Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良價 (807–869), a founder of the more intellectual Caodong 曹洞 (Jap. Sōtō) school.

The "five positions" represent five perspectives or modes of experiencing reality in terms of mutual relationship between "the right" (*zheng* 正) and "the biased" (*pian* 偏).[2] Traditionally, the "five positions" were considered to be a kind of Chan-like "version" of the "four *dharmadhātu*s" in Huayan Buddhism,[3] the "right"/"biased" paradigm being analogous to the Huayan principle/phenomena (*li* 理/*shi* 事) paradigm.[4] Thus, accordingly, in the following text, we might interpret the terms "the right" and "the biased" as "principle" and "phenomena" ("phenomenal manifestation of the principle"). But, anyway, even regardless of this analogy with the Huayan terms, according to various texts of Caodong, we can say that the term "the right" denotes absoluteness, equality, essence or principle while "the biased" can denote relativity, diversity, particularity or phenomenon. Thus, the "five positions"

1 Faure 1997: 37–49.

2 The teachings of the "five positions" philosophy are found mainly in three texts usually appended to the "recorded sayings" (*yulu* 語錄) of either Dongshan Liangjie or Caoshan Benji as independent treatises – *Gāthā on Five Position (also called) Lords and Vasals (Wu wei jun chen song* 五位君臣 頌 – in T 1986B: 47.525c1–8.*), Exoteric Explaining of Dongshan's Five Positions (Dongshan wu wei xian jue* 洞山五位顯訣; T 1987A, 1987B.) and *Precious Mirror Samādhi (Bao jing sanmei* 寶鏡三昧; T 1986B: 47.525c23–526a19.).

3 For "four *dharmadhātu*s" theory, see Chang 1971: 141–169, Hamar 1998.

4 The "five positions" are: 1. *zheng zhong pian* 正中偏 – "the biased within the right"; 2. *pian zhong zheng* 偏中正 – "the right within the biased"; 3. *zheng zhong lai* 正中來 – "coming from within the right"; 4. *jian zhong zhi* 兼中至 – "arriving at within together [the right and the biased]"; 5. *jian zhong dao* 兼中到 – "going within together [the right and the biased]".

represent five different perspectives of the comprehension of the mutual interrelation of these two aspects of reality.[5]

Regarding the term *wei* 位 itself, which I translate as "position", Whalen W. Lai suggests that in Chinese this character also evokes the meaning "occupying a proper position", which in the Buddhist context can imply connotations like taking a proper "position" toward reality.[6]

The "positions" in question are believed to be a kind of altered modes of discerning reality, which, resulting from awakening and cultivation, represent different "forms" in which reality is given in the experience of the awakened mind.

In my paper I want to try to show some aspects of the Huayan influence on the Chan "five positions" or five modes of experiencing reality, using the commentaries on them, written by two respected Chan masters: Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂 (804–901) – a direct disciple of Dongshan Liangjie who also elaborated his own "five positions"[7] – and a much later commentator on the "positions" Yongjue Yuanxian 永覺元賢 (1578–1657).

They both seem to accentuate a Huayan-like notion of the inseparability of the principle and phenomena in the theory of the "five positions", mainly in their elaboration on the mutual relationship between **essence** and **function** (or **principle** and **phenomena)** in various "positions".[8]

In Chinese Buddhism, the essence and its function are often paraphrased as "nature" and "practice" – only Buddha perfectly actualizes his essence and completely unfolds it, while the enlightenment experienced by other beings is nothing

5 William F. Powell (1986: 11–12) in his short introduction to Dongshan's "five positions" (he translates the term *wu wei* as "five ranks") says that the first "rank" suggests an experience of reality in which "form is emptiness" and that such an experience of reality might, for example, result from the conceptual reductionism taught by Nāgārjuna, while the second "position" presents the experience from the opposite perspective, i.e., that the truth of emptiness can be manifested in phenomenal events, and that metaphor and poetry are ideally suited to function in this way. Regarding the third "position" Powell states that it suggests the experience of reality that results from an absorption in emptiness, as in meditation, while in the fourth "position" attention is redirected to phenomena, where phenomena are totally identified with emptiness – phenomena, when experienced in a particular frame of mind, are not merely metaphorical representations of the ultimate but they are directly experienced as the ultimate. And, finally, the fifth "position" seems to be an attempt to account for a completely harmonious experience of reality that transcends the previous four "positions". See also Chang 1965.

6 Lai 1969: 231

7 I used his commentary on the Dongshan's "five position" rather then his own elaboration of the "positions", since the commentary seems to be more rich in a formally expressed "philosophical" content.

8 A. Charles Muller (1999: 12) states that in various East Asian Buddhist schools the essence-function construction appears in other analogous forms, one of the most prominent being the *li/shi* ("principle/phenomena") terminology used by the philosophers of Huayan.

more than being trapped in the attributes of the purity of the enlightened nature.[9] Generally speaking, in Mahāyāna Buddhism, the human beings are seen to be pure in the aspect of essence and it is an aspect of function that people differ.

Based on this basic understanding of the essence/function paradigm in Buddhism, in my elaboration on the relationship between essence and its functioning in different "positions", I am also going to try to apply a more general understanding of the terms essence and function, thought basically used in Western philosophical discourse, yet, I think, also valid for Buddhism as well: the function is "the appearing (in some space) when the (regulative) principle sets it".

Caoshan Benji

His commentary on one of the crucial works explaining the "five positions" *Explaining of Dongshan's Five Positions* (*Jieshi Dongshan wu wei* 解釋洞山五位, hereafter *Explaining*) is titled *Elucidation of the Exoteric Explaining of Dongshan's Five Positions* (*Jieshi Dongshan wu wei xian jue* 解釋洞山五位顯訣 – hereafter *Elucidation*).[10]

The influence of Huayan philosophy can be seen, I think, especially in the first two "positions" of the *Elucidation*, more or less directly pointing to the inseparability of the principle and phenomena, while the following three "positions" are elaborated in a more "Chan-like" way, playing with the terms "the spoken" and "the unspoken", and I'm not going to analyze them in this paper.

1st "Position"

Explaining:

正位卻偏
就偏辨得
是圓兩意

The right position is yet the biased. It is discernable within the biased. This is fulfillment of both meanings.

9 For example, Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (781–841), traditionally honored as a patriarch in both the Huayan school and Heze 荷澤 Branch of Chan, even assimilates the essence/function paradigm into that of root/branch (*ben/mo* 本末) – it entails a notion of religious practice as a return to a more basic state, the primordial condition of the mind before its bifurcation into subject and object attendant upon the first subtle movement of thought. And, it is only through a direct experience of the essence that its functioning can be validated as true. See Gregory 1991: 237. Zongmi introduces a critical distinction between two levels of functioning: 1. intrinsic functioning of the self nature (*zixing benyong* 自性本用) and 2. responsive functioning in accord with conditions (*suiyuan yingyong* 隨緣應用). See Gregory 1991: 239.

10 T 1987: 47.541c14–542b15.

In the *Elucidation* we read:

正位卻偏者
爲不對物
雖不對物
卻具正中
無用爲偏
全用爲圓
是兩意[11]

[1] The right position is yet the biased,
because [one] does not confront things [with the 'right'].
Though, [one] does not confront things [with the 'right'],
yet it is within the right.
[2] When there is no function, it is biased.
[3] Total function is completeness.
This is both meanings.

The three sentences in bold we can, I think, paraphrase (keeping in mind what I mentioned earlier – "the right" equals "principle", "the biased" holds the meaning "phenomenal manifestation (of the principle)" and "function" means "the appearing (in some space) when the (regulative) principle sets it") like this:

[1] "The 'position' of the principle is that of the phenomenal manifestation [of the principle], because [one] does not confront things [with the principle]".

– at the same time:

[2] "When there is no 'appearing when the principle sets it', [even then] it is [also] phenomenal manifestation [of the principle]".

– at the same time:

[3] "'Appearing whenever the principle sets it' is completeness".

The sentences, at some points contradicting each other but at the same time completing each other, I think, simply aim to point, in a typical Chan-like way, to a Huayan notion of the inseparability of the principle and phenomena, in the sense that the principle is manifested exclusively through the phenomena and at the same time that phenomena are produced exclusively while attached to the principle.[12]

11 T 1987B: 47.541c19–20.
12 For example, in Chengguan's 澄觀 (738–839) *Manual of Avataṃsaka-sūtra (Da huayan jing lüece* 大華嚴經略策) – hereafter *Manual*), in a passage explaining the meaning of the term "*dharmadhātu*", we read: "Phenomena are produced while attached to the principle, the principle is manifested through the phenomena" 事攬理成理由事顯. See T 1737: 36.707c13.

2nd "Position"

Explanation

偏位雖偏
亦圓兩意
緣中辨得
是有語中無語

The biased position, though being biased, still fulfills both meanings. It is discernable within conditions. This is "the unspoken within the spoken".

Elucidation also states:

為用處不立的
不立的則真不常用也
偏位雖偏亦圓者
用中無物不觸
是兩意
雖就用中明
為語中不傷[13]

This is because no location is defined in the function.
[When] No [location] is defined, then it is really not a fixed function.
The biased position, though being biased, it is still complete.
In function there is nothing which is not touched/related.
This is both meanings.
Though it is clarified in the function,
no violence is done in speech.

Here we can read: "No location is defined in 'the appearing (in some space) when the principle sets it' ". Being so, "it is really not a fixed 'appearing (in some space) when the principle sets it'".

This kind of interpretation implies, in my opinion, a Huayan-like notion that in the process of origination nothing is to be originated that had not existed earlier – it is only that a given phenomenal mark cannot be manifested at the same moment (of linear time) at the same place as any other.

Yongjue Yuanxian

Yongjue Yuanxian, in my opinion, points to the inseparability of the principle and phenomena from different points of view at every single "position", and, in the "positions" four and five he even accentuates a total unity of the essence and its functioning.

13 T 1987B: 47.541c24–25.

The commentaries of Yongjue Yuanxian can be found in the *Recorded Sayings of the Chan Master Yongjue Yuanxian* (*Yongjue Yuanxian Chanshi guang lu* 永覺元賢禪師廣錄), section *Dongshan's Five Positions* (*Dongshan wu wei* 洞山五位)[14] and a section titled *Commentary on the Gāthā on Dongshan's Five Positions* (*Dongshan wu wei song zhu* 洞山五位頌注).[15]

Concerning the first "position", Yuanxian criticizes other masters who consider this "position" to express that the "function is initiated within the essence" (*ti zhong fa yong* 體中發用),[16] whereby they convey the meaning, according to Yuanxian, that "the biased is produced after the right" (*zheng hou qi pian* 正後起偏).[17] Yuanxian says that the relationship between "the biased" and "the right" should be like "there is the biased in the right" (*zheng zhong bian you pian* 正中便有偏)[18] – thus, in our understanding, "there is a phenomenal manifestation (of the principle) in the principle."

Here Yuanxian indicates that phenomena are not produced after the principle; and that "there is a phenomenal manifestation (of the principle) in the principle". Again, I think, the author of the commentary simply points to the inseparability of the principle and phenomena, here in the sense that they come into being together and cease together as well.[19]

In the commentary on the 2nd "position" we read:

> 此位師家多作轉用歸體釋者非是
> 以洞山意
> 是偏中便有正
> 非偏後歸正也[20]

> The way that many masters often make this position [to mean] "transformation of the function [of the appearing when the principle sets it] by returning to the essence" is not a correct explanation.
> Because according to Dongshan's meaning,
> it is "the right is there in the biased".
> **It does not mean that "after [truly comprehending] the biased [the phenomenal manifestation of the principle], one returns to the right [the principle]".**

In the commentary of this "position", the author points to the "fact" that every phenomenon is nothing but a direct and total manifestation of the principle; there is no reality beyond the phenomenal world. Therefore, in the process of origination

14 XZJ vol. 27.
15 XZJ vol. 27.
16 XZJ 27.356a18.
17 XTJ 27.356b1.
18 XZJ 27.356a18.
19 Chengguan in his *Manual* (1737: 36.707c13–14.) states: "[If] they both [phenomena and principle] cease to exist together, then both phenomena and principle perish. If they come into existence together, then they are permanent phenomena and permanent principle".
20 XZJ 27.356b7–9.

nothing is to be originated that had not existed earlier – but there are different phenomenal marks appearing in any different moment (of a linear time) in any different space.

3rd "Position"

In Yuanxian's commentaries on the third "position", I did not find the term function explicitly explained. Yuanxian simply claims that this is the "right position" (*zheng-wei* 正位),[21] thus the "position" of pure principle. It seems to be a little surprising step, after the two previous stages, in which there were accentuated that the principle can be manifested exclusively through the phenomena. On the other hand, in the light of the "soteriological" content of the "positions", stressing the *upāya* ("skillful means") aspect of the bodhisattva's mind,[22] here Yuanxian seems simply trying to say, that this "position" does not necessarily (unlike following two "positions") imply the *"upāya*-oriented" functioning of the essence, when stating that "[one] has not yet entered into the ordinary and is still separated from the 'earthly pollution'".[23]

4th "Position"

In the commentary on the fourth position we also read: "the total essence is the function" (*quan ti ji yong* 全體即用).[24]

Thus, using the definition of the term "function" I introduced earlier, in our paraphrase we can read it like this:

> "The essence in its entirety is 'the appearing (in some space) when the principle [of the essence] sets it'".

From this short sentence, explaining the "fourth level" of the experience of reality, we can derive the following notion: The essence in its entirety is (nothing but) its own functioning. Here, I think, the Huayan notion of every phenomenon being totally pervaded by the principle in its entirety can be applied.

If we do not distinguish between the terms essence and principle (I think that we can do it in the case of Chan Buddhism since these both aspects of reality don't need any kind of justification), thus replacing the term essence by the term principle, we can read:

21 XZJ 27.356b12.

22 The "soteriological" aspect of Dongshan's positions is mainly propagated in his another set of stanzas called *Gāthā of the "Five Positions" of Merits* (*Gongxun wu wei song* 功勳五位頌, T 1986B: 47.525c14–22.).

23 XZJ 27.356b15.

24 XZJ 27.355d2–3.

"The principle in its entirety is 'the appearing when the principle sets it'". Of course, this sentence is incoherent in the sense of formal logic, yet it can express the notion that the essence (principle) is nothing but the active functioning of itself, in a Chan-like "illogical" way.

5th "position"

In the commentary on the fifth position we read: "the total function is the essence" (*quan yong ji ti* 全用即體).[25]

Thus:

"'The appearing in whatever space whenever the principle [of the essence] sets it' is [nothing but] the essence".

Here the commentary suggests that all the functioning of the essence is nothing but the essence itself. Therefore, can we say that all phenomena are totally comprised by the principle (of the essence)?[26]

Or, if we formally replace the term essence by the term principle, we can read:

"'The appearing (in whatever space) whenever the principle sets it' is the principle."

Here, again, this sentence is incoherent in the sense of formal logic, yet the notion that all the functioning of the essence (principle) is nothing but the essence (principle) itself, is expressed in a Chan-like "illogical" way.

Conclusion

Both masters in the above mentioned commentaries obviously seem to accentuate the Huayan notion of the inseparability of the principle and phenomena in Dongshan's "five positions".

In Caoshan's case (in this particular commentary), the inseparability of the principle and phenomena is mainly elaborated in the sense that the principle can be manifested exclusively through the phenomena and at the same time that phenomena are produced exclusively while attached to the principle.

Yongjue Yuanxian' commentary seems to more accentuate that aspect of Huayan teaching which introduces a notion of a total interpenetration of the principle and phenomena and that of all phenomena being totally comprised by the principle, while suggesting that (position 4) the essence in its entirety is (nothing but) its own functioning and (position 5) that all the functioning of the essence is nothing but the essence itself.

25 XZJ 27.355d4–5.

26 In Chengguan's *Manual* (T 1737: 36.707c16.) we read: "The fourth ["*dharmadhātu*"] is the "*dharmadhātu*" of the non-obstruction of phenomena, which means that the principle includes phenomena (*yi li rong shi* 以理融事).

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HUANG YI-HSUN

HUAYAN THOUGHT IN YANSHOU'S *GUANXIN XUANSHU*: SIX CHARACTERISTICS AND TEN PROFOUND GATES

Introduction

Yongming Yanshou's 永明延壽 (904–975) *Records of the Tenet-Mirror* (*Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄) is the best-known source for investigating the development of Chinese Buddhism between the Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) dynasties in southern China. Buddhist scholar Jan Yün-hua remarks that despite this, it is difficult to single out Yanshou's own thought in the *Zongjing lu* because the work functions like an encyclopedia. Jan recommends research on Yanshou's smaller works, which he believes were written after the *Zongjing lu* and better represent Yanshou's thought.[1] I therefore have chosen the *Profound Pivot of the Contemplation of Mind* (*Guanxin xuanshu* 觀心玄樞, referred to hereafter as the *Profound Pivot*) as the focus for my research on Yanshou's Huayan thought.[2]

In the fifty-third issue of the *Profound Pivot*, Yanshou uses the six characteristics (*liuxiang* 六相) and the ten profound gates (*shixuan men* 十玄門) to connect the practice of contemplation of mind (*guanxin* 觀心) and Buddha deeds (*foshi* 佛事).[3] Yanshou's usage of these two sets of Huayan concepts in his *Profound Pivot* demonstrates a doctrinal change from the Huayan tradition. To understand the significance of this change, this paper will begin with a brief introduction of the *Profound Pivot*, then analyze the structure of issue fifty-three, and finally discuss the six characteristics and ten profound gates.

The Discovery of a Complete Version of the *Profound Pivot*

The title of the *Profound Pivot* is attributed in two accounts. One is the *Record of the Self-cultivations of Chan Master Zhijue* (*Zhijue chanshi zixinglu* 智覺禪師自行

1 Jan 1995: 227.
2 According to the preface of the Tenri 天理 University manuscript of the *Profound Pivot*, it is abstracted from the *Zongjing lu* (*Zongjing lu zhong lüechu dayi* 宗鏡錄中略出大意).
3 *Foshi* will be discussed below.

錄) compiled by Yanshou's disciple Xingming 行明 (d. 1001). In it Xingming lists sixty-one of Yanshou's works, including the *Profound Pivot*.[4] According to the Japanese scholar MORIE Toshitaka 森江俊孝, the other account is the *Catalogue of the Transmission of Lamp of the East* (*Tōiki dentō mokuroku* 東域傳燈目錄), compiled by the Japanese monk Eichō 永超 in 1094, approximately one hundred twenty years after Yanshou's death.[5] While an incomplete version of the *Profound Pivot* exists in the XZJ,[6] my paper is based on a complete manuscript of the *Profound Pivot*.[7]

According to the colophon of the complete manuscript, it was copied by a Japanese monk named Dentoku Ryōson 傳得良尊 at the Muryōkōin 無量光院 in 1069. The Muryōkōin was a temple of the Shingon 真言 school, but the details of Dentoku's life are unknown.[8] Morie came upon this manuscript in the Tenri University library in 1976.[9]

Morie subsequently collated this complete version with three other incomplete versions: the version in the XZJ, the version belonging to Japanese book collector Ikeda 池田, and a version from Tokyo University. He then published two articles containing an edited version of the *Profound Pivot*. He also wrote two other short articles giving a general introduction to the text and explaining its relation with the *Zongjing lu*.[10] Morie's version of the *Profound Pivot* is a convenient and helpful work, but he did not analyze it or explain its role in the development of Chinese Buddhism.

Moreover, after comparing Morie's version with a copy of the manuscript I obtained from the Tenri University in 1997, I found that Morie made a serious mistake: his version omits one page of the original manuscript. In the *Profound Pivot*, Yanshou summarizes seventy-two important issues and discusses how the contemplation of the mind relates to them. Because of the missing page, Morie states that there are only seventy issues in the *Profound Pivot*. In addition, Morie's version also contains several instances of erroneous or omitted Chinese characters. Therefore, I have collated a new version, based on Morie's version, the Tenri manuscript, and occasionally the *Zongjing lu*.[11]

4 XZJ 111.166b11.
5 Morie 1981: 50.
6 The first third of the *Profound Pivot* in the XZJ is missing. XZJ 114.847a–870a.
7 See appendix 2 for my collated version and translation of the fifty-third issue of the *Profound Pivot*.
8 Morie 1981: 56.
9 Morie 1977.
10 Morie 1976, 1979.
11 For a complete version and English translation of the *Profound Pivot*, see my *Integrating Chinese Buddhism: A Study of Yongming Yanshou's Guanxin Xuanshu*.

The Structure of Issue Fifty-three

The topic of issue fifty-three is "If one does not contemplate the mind, how can one accomplish Buddha deeds?"[12] Before going on to examine the relation between the contemplation of mind and Buddha deeds, it is first necessary to understand the meaning of the contemplation of mind provided in Yanshou's works. Yanshou's interest in the contemplation of mind seems to relate to the Tiantai school. In the *Zongjing lu*, he quotes from the *Fahua xuanyi* 法華玄義 to explain that for common people doing meditation, contemplating the Buddha-Dharma is too difficult, and contemplating worldly things is too general. It would be easier and more accessible for them to contemplate their minds.[13]

Fahua xuanyi then uses the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* and the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* as its canonical bases to argue for the importance of the contemplation of mind. The *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* states that every sentient being has the ability to attain three kinds of *samādhi*: supreme, middle and inferior. Supreme *samādhi* is the *samādhi* in which one is able to see one's Buddha-nature and seeing one's Buddha-nature is seeing the nature of one's mind.[14] According to the *Huayan jing*, if one contemplates one's mind and experiences the *dharmadhātu* as being like empty sky, one has achieved the state of Buddhas.[15] This is because the *dharmadhātu* is the middle way; empty sky is emptiness; mind and Buddhas are conventional truth. When one is able to contemplate these three truths in one mind, one has achieved the state of Buddhas and this is called the contemplation of mind.

The nature of mind is, therefore, related to Buddha-nature and the *dharmadhātu*, and the practice of the contemplation of mind is Tiantai's "contemplation of threefold truth in one mind." Buddha-nature as the nature of mind expresses Yanshou's soteriology; *dharmadhātu* as the nature of mind demonstrates the centrality of mind-only for Yanshou. As a result, Yanshou firmly believes that contemplating the mind in order to understand the nature of mind is the essential practice of liberation.[16] To advocate this belief, Yanshou connects the contemplation of mind with seventy-two important Buddhist doctrines and practices in the *Profound Pivot*.

With regard to Buddha deeds, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* is one of the most important sources for Yanshou's discussion of this concept.[17] For Yanshou, any activity helping people to achieve enlightenment is a Buddha deed (*foshi*). He further argues that all phenomena in the world are Buddha deeds which can help people to achieve enlightenment. He says in issue fifty-three: "This teaching of the mind can make the ordinary and the sacred interact with each other." The fundamental theory

12 For this and all subsequent citations from issue fifty-three, see Appendix 2.
13 T 2016: 48.425c6–13, T 1716: 33.692c26–27.
14 T 2016: 48.425c9–10, T 1716: 33.696a15–19, T 374: 12.524c29–a1.
15 T 2016: 48.425c10–12, T 1716: 33.696a19–22, and T 278: 9.409c1.
16 *Zongjing lu*, T 2016: 48.442b7.
17 Lamotte provides the Sanskrit term "*buddhakārya*" for "Buddha deeds" in Lamotte 1976: 223.

underlying this statement is his belief that our mind can transform the myriad things to be Buddha deeds helping people to achieve enlightenment. It is as Master Fu 傅大士 says, the mind has no shape and no characteristic, but it has great divine power. With the mind, all phenomena in the world, such as world-weariness, defilements, mountains and rivers of this Flower Treasure world (*huazang shijie* 華藏世界), can become Buddha deeds helping people to achieve enlightenment.

Yanshou then gives several examples from Buddhist *sūtra*s and Chinese literature to explain how everything can be a Buddha deed. He tells us stories of the youth Sudhana, the Wheel Turning King Ajātaśatru, the rice from Gandhalaya Buddha-land, and even a story from the *Zhuangzi*.

Yanshou continues by explaining that the power of mind is not bound by space and time. For example, innumerable Buddha-lands are seen in one particle of dust, a mustard seed can contain the high and broad Mt. Sumeru, and Chinese monk Jietuo 解脱 met the emanation of the historical Buddha. Listening to Buddhist *sūtra*s for fifty eons is like an instant, but when one obtains immediate comprehension in seven days, time expands like a great eon. All the differences of large and small, and ancient and modern time disappear in the stories. These Buddha deeds happened beyond our ordinary perception of form, space and time, but all have to be understood through our mind. This is why Yanshou argues that one has to practice the contemplation of mind in order to see Reality in every phenomenon and then establish them as Buddha deeds helping people to achieve enlightenment.

Next, Yanshou uses the six characteristics and the ten profound gates to explain the relationship between one-mind and its aspects. By using these two sets of Huayan concepts, he argues in issue fifty-three that, "Any single example taken from the immeasurable Dharma teachings is not outside one's own mind." He then concludes this issue with more sayings and stories to prove his point from the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*, *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經, and the *Song of Monk Nanyue Lanzan* 南嶽懶瓚和尙歌.

Yanshou's Interpretation of the Six Characteristics

Fazang's discussion of the six characteristics in his *Wujiao zhang* 五教章 is the most representative explanation of the Huayan school.[18] Yanshou cites Fazang's famous analogy of a building and its parts several times in his *Zongjing lu*.[19] According to Fazang, the six characteristics are universality (*zong* 總), particularity (*bie* 別), identity (*tong* 同), difference (*yi* 異), integration (*cheng* 成), and disintegration (*huai* 壞). This teaching of the six characteristics serves to explain the meaning of

18 The full title of the *Wujiao zhang* is *Huayan yishengjiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章, T 1866. This discussion is found in T 1866: 45.507c20–508c22.

19 For example, T 2016: 48.690b1ff.

dependent origination of the *dharmadhātu* (*fajie yuanqi* 法界緣起) and to demonstrate the perfect teaching of the one-vehicle (*yisheng yuanjiao* 一乘圓教).[20]

Fazang uses the six characteristics to explain the relationship between the *dharmadhātu* and phenomena depedently arisen in the *dharmadhātu* (i.e., principle and phenomena). He uses the analogy of a building and its parts to explain this relationship.[21] The building has the characteristic of universality. At the same time, the building is also composed of rafters and other parts. Without rafters and other parts, there could not be a building. Thus, it could be said that because rafters and other parts make up the building, they therefore share in the characteristic of universality.

Fazang continues to explain that rafters and other parts must also have the characteristic of particularity, meaning they are different from the building; otherwise, they cannot be used as material to construct a building. Then, since rafters and other parts are used together to construct a building, they have the identity of being parts of a building, but at the same time, rafters are different from other parts such as the roof. Finally, the building can be erected due to the integration of its parts, but at the same time every part retains its own character and function (disintegration).

Peter Gregory explains this relationship between the *dharmadhātu* and phenomena: "The character of each phenomenon is thus determined by the whole of which it is an integral part, just as the character of the whole is determined by each of the phenomena of which it is comprised."[22] Thus each phenomenon possesses the six characteristics due to its role as an integral part of the *dharmadhātu* and its relation with other phenomena.

In his *Zongjing lu*, Yanshou includes Fazang's analogy of a building and its parts, but then adds his own interpretation, in which he replaces a crucial element. He writes, "Because the true one-mind (*zhenru yixin* 真如一心) includes mundane and supermundane dharmas, it has the characteristic of universality."[23] Yanshou describes dharmas and remaining characteristics as follows: Mundane and supermundane dharmas produce various conditions, so they have the characteristic of particularity. They are equal due to the lack of self-nature, but they have different forms. They come together to establish this realm, but at the same time, retain their own role. Yanshou borrows Fazang's conceptual structure, but replaces the *dharmadhātu* – the most representative element for the Huayan tradition – with the one-mind, one of the central tenets of the Chan school. Thus Yanshou's *Zongjing lu* employs a relationship of one-mind and phenomena.

In his subsequent work, the *Profound Pivot*, Yanshou uses a terse 28-character passage to set forth a new position with regard to the six characteristics. Yanshou says that one-mind has the characteristic of universality, while the various aspects

20 T 1866: 45.507c7–12. My translation is based on Cook 1994: 77, but I have modified it.

21 The description that follows, continuing to the subsequent paragraph, is a summary of the discussion in the *Wujiao zhang*, T 1886: 45. 507c19–508c22.

22 Gregory 1991: 155–56.

23 T 2016: 48.690c14–18.

of mind (*duoxin* 多心) possess the characteristics of particularity, identity, integration, and disintegration. Thus he shifts to a model using the relationship between one-mind and the various aspects of mind. As explained in the *Zongjing lu*, various aspects of mind includes erroneous views and the functions such as seeing, listening, and knowing.[24] The *Profound Pivot* concludes that, the various aspects of mind are merely the appearances of the root (*ben* 本) and the branches (*mo* 末) of one-mind. In other words, one-mind is the ultimate source of its various aspects and their relationship is like that of a building and its parts.[25]

To sum up, in the *Zongjing lu*, Yanshou first cites Fazang's terms and explanation of the six characteristics without alteration. Then, he replaces the *dharmadhātu* with one-mind, and finally, in the *Profound Pivot*, replaces phenomena with the various aspects of mind. The six characteristics thus are used to explain the relationship between one-mind and the deluded aspects of mind in the *Profound Pivot*. Yanshou's concept of the relationship of one-mind and the deluded aspects of mind is similar to the well-known theory of the two aspects of one-mind in the *Awakening of Faith*. The *Awakening of Faith* states that although the relationship between the two aspects of one-mind is neither one of sameness nor difference, one-mind is pure and yet appears to be defiled.[26]

The doctrine of one-mind is also a monistic ontology in the *Profound Pivot*. However, with the six characteristics Yanshou proposes that the relationship of one-mind to its various aspects is the whole and its parts and they together comprise and share their characteristics. This relationship is the theoretical foundation for understanding the ten profound gates in the following discussion.

Yanshou's Interpretation of the Ten Profound Gates

As most scholars who are familiar with Huayan doctrine know, there are the so-called "old ten profound gates" and "new ten profound gates." The old ten profound gates are first formulated by Zhiyan in the *Huayan yisheng shixuan men* 華嚴一乘十玄門. The new ten profound gates are formulated by Fazang in his *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記, and inherited by Chengguan in his *Huayan jing suishu yanyichao* 華嚴經隨疏演義鈔.[27] Fazang rearranges the old ten profound gates and replaces two of them. Both the old and the new ten profound gates are cited in the *Zongjing lu*, and Yanshou is also aware of the significance of Fazang's change. One of the two old profound gates that Fazang excludes from his newer version is "the endowment of all repositories with both purity and mixed qualities" (*zhuzang chun-*

24 T 2016: 48.895b04–5; 889c4; 949c20–22.

25 The *Zongjing lu* also states, "One-mind produces various aspects of mind and various aspects of mind are included in one-mind. They comprise each other without obstruction." (T 2016: 48.895b4–6.)

26 Gregory 1991: 181.

27 T 1868, T 1733 and T 1736 respectively.

za jude men 諸藏純雜具德門). Fazang replaces it with "the gate of mastery of the general and the specific" (*guangxia zizai men* 廣狹自在門).[28]

The other category deleted by Fazang is "creation through the transformation of the mind-only" (*weixin huizhuan shancheng* 唯心迴轉善成). This category of "creation through the transformation of the mind-only" is, however, Yanshou's favorite gate. As a result, Yanshou adopted Zhiyan's old ten profound gates in the *Profound Pivot*.

Despite the fact that Yanshou uses the categories of Zhiyan's ten profound gates, there are two significant changes in the list and his explanation. First, as described, he lists creation through the transformation of the mind-only as the last gate, concluding the other nine with it. Second, he changes their contents to accord with the theory of mind-only. He uses the ten profound gates to explain the unobstructed interrelationship between one-mind (*yixin* 一心) and its deluded aspects of mind (*duoxin* 多心). In his discussion, Yanshou also substitutes one-mind for the mind of equality (*pingdeng xin* 平等心), subtle mind (*weixi xin* 微細心), and one-real mind (*yishi xin* 一實心) in order to contrast one-mind with its deluded aspects of mind such as the differentiating mind (*chabie xin* 差別心), mind of all (deluded) thoughts (*yiqiexin* 一切心), and coarse mind (*guangda xin* 廣大心).

Yanshou lists and defines the ten profound gates in the *Profound Pivot* as follows:[29]

1. The gate of simultaneous completion and respondence (*tongshi juzu xiangying men* 同時具足相應門): The mind of equality is one and the differentiating mind are

28 Yanshou explains the problem with the "older" gate: it maintains a dual view. Specifically, this gate elucidates the *dharmadhātu* of *lishi wu'ai* 理事無礙, the harmonious interaction of the principle and the phenomenal without obstruction. The principle has the quality of purity while the phenomena possess mixed qualities. For example, if great compassion is a pure practice of a bodhisattva, then the bodhisattva's other practices will be seen as unimportant.
On the contrary, if one adopts the perspective of "the gate of mastery of the general and the specific," then with generosity as the pure practice of a bodhisattva, any forms of practice the bodhisattva does can be seen as instances of that generosity. In this way, pure practice includes mixed practices; this is called mutual interpenetration (*xiangru* 相入). Furthermore, pure practice is identical with mixed practice; this is called mutual determination (*xiangji* 相即). This way of understanding demonstrates the realm of *shishi wu'ai* 事事無礙, the unobstructed interrelation of each and every phenomenon. This is why Fazang deletes the old name and changes it to the profound gate of the mastery of general and specific. Yanshou uses the following analogy to describe the meaning of the new gate: It is like flowers embroidered on a piece of silk. Although the flowers are made by different colors of thread, the threads are knitted together. See T 2016: 48.573c11–24. I borrow these terms from Gregory 1991: 156. For Fazang's own discussion, see T 1733: 35.124c26–27.

29 See the fifty-third issue of the *Profound Pivot*. This description of the ten profound gates is quoted in the *Zongjing lu*, T 2016: 48.644a12–27. My translation of the ten gates is mostly based on Gimello 1976: 432–33. and partly on Gregory 1991: 150–51, but I have modified them slightly. Although the order of Yanshou's explanation for the ten gates is different from his list, both end with the gate of the excellent creation through the transformation of the mind-only. The order of my explanation is in accordance with the list.

many. The differentiating mind, according to Yanshou's explanation in the *Zongjing lu*, arises because of the deluded mind (*wangxin* 妄心), and is associated with sensation and attachment.[30] The differentiating mind and the mind of all (deluded) thoughts by definition should be different from one-mind. Yanshou, however, states that one-mind is the mind of all (deluded) thoughts. This is the meaning of mutual determination (*xiangji* 相即) and is also the meaning of simultaneous respondence. The mind of all thoughts enters one-mind; this is the meaning of interpenetration (*xiangru* 相入).

2. The gate of the mutual inclusion, and yet difference, of the one and many (*yiduo xiangrong butong men* 一多相容不同門): To say that the differentiating mind includes one-mind means that the mind of equality can be manifested without destroying the differentiating mind. To say that one-mind includes the differentiating mind means that the differentiating mind can be manifested without concealing the mind of equality.

3. The gate of revelation and concealment in secrecy (*yinxian men* 隱顯門): Concealment means that one-mind encompasses (*she* 攝) all (deluded) thoughts. Revelation means that all (deluded) thoughts complement (*zi* 資) one-mind.

4. The gate of Indra's net (*diwang men* 帝網門): one-mind bears (*dai* 帶) the mind of all (deluded) thoughts and again enters one-mind. This is the meaning of Indra's net.

5. The gate of the endowment of all qualities (*jude men* 具德門): one-real mind is pure and the differentiating mind is mixed. Nevertheless, because the differentiating mind is also one-real mind, the mixed is always pure; and because one-real mind is also differentiating mind, the pure is always mixed. This is the reason that it is called the repositories with both purity and the mixed (*zhuzang chunza men* 諸藏純雜門).

6. The gate of the mastery (*zizai men* 自在門): For an unknown reason, Yanshou does not define the meaning of this gate in the *Profound Pivot*. The original title of this gate in Zhiyan's work is the gate of the mastery of the mutual determination of all phenomena (*zhufa xiangji zizai men* 諸法相即自在門). Based on the pattern Yanshou uses to interpret the other gates, the definition of this gate could be that one-mind can be regarded as determining the character of all other aspects of mind as well as having its own character determined by all other aspects of mind.

7. The gate of the concordance (*anli men* 安立門): Subtle mind does not obstruct coarse mind; coarse mind does not obstruct subtle mind.

8. The gate of ten life-times (*shishi men* 十世門): Long eons and short eons, long periods and short periods are all established by accumulated thoughts and manifested by one-mind.

9. The gate of the reliance on phenomena (*tuoshi men* 託事門): Objects are manifested because of the mind, and by seeing objects the mind is known.

10. The gate of the excellent creation through the transformation of the mind-only (*weixin huizhuan shancheng men* 唯心迴轉善成門): Based on the correct mean-

30 T 2016: 48.674a18–19.

ing of one-mind, the inconceivable Dharma teachings are expounded, so that language is cut off and deluded thoughts are extinguished.

With these ten profound gates, Yanshou contends that one-mind is identical with its various deluded aspects of differentiation, impurity, and coarseness. They mutually include and reflect each other's qualities. As Yanshou says, it is not easy to understand how one-mind encompasses the deluded thoughts, for one-mind is not easily seen. However, it is easier to see how deluded thoughts complement one-mind and that their relationship crosses many life-times. Finally, as long as one can follow the Dharma teachings in accordance with the correct meaning of one-mind, one will obtain the ultimate goal and deluded thoughts will be extinguished.

To Yanshou, the ten profound gates demonstrate the infinite interpenetration and mutual determination of one-mind and its deluded aspects of mind. Yanshou's alteration of the ten profound gates in the *Profound Pivot* is no mere reshuffling of categories. Not only does he re-interpret every profound gate with the theory of one-mind, but he also concludes the discussion with the gate of the excellent creation through the transformation of mind-only. The main reason for this deviation is Yanshou's consistent predilection to see the mind as the root of every thought based on mind-only theory, which represents one of the essential teachings of the Chan tradition.

Summary

In the fifty-third issue of the *Profound Pivot*, Yanshou states that the contemplation of mind is a necessary condition for accomplishing Buddha deeds helping people to achieve enlightenment. The Huayan concepts of the six characteristics and the ten profound gates are used to illustrate the interpenetration and mutual determination of one-mind and its deluded aspects.

As Yanshou states in the *Zongjing lu*, these six characteristics and ten profound gates are used to understand and perfect[31] the meaning of *lishi wu'ai* 理事無礙, no obstruction between the principle and the phenomena.[32] In his *Profound Pivot*, a work deeply rooted in mind-only theory, the interrelation of the principle and the phenomena therefore is not important, for phenomena are empty by nature. The significance of phenomena is more in how the mind perceives them and how the mind reacts to them. The six characteristics and ten profound gates serve to explain the relation between the mind and its various aspects: even though its various thoughts are differentiating, mixed, and coarse, they are parts of the mind.

Yanshou's alteration is not simply an ontological statement, it is more an expression of Yanshou's soteriological concern and his emphasis on religious practice. The

31 *Gai zhi* 該之 and *yuan zhi* 圓之; see the *Zongjing lu*, T 2016: 48.487b1; 498a12.

32 Robert Gimello also states that each of Zhiyan's ten gates is "a particular principle of dependent origination" to understand the interfusion of principle and phenomena. See Gimello 1976: 432.

contemplation of mind – regarded as the pivot of Buddhist practice by Yanshou – is a practice to transform every thought into a Buddha deed. The content of the six characteristics and the ten profound gates is changed and used to help practitioners observe the relationship between their mind and thoughts in the contemplative state.

As Yanshou describes in the fifty-third issue of the Profound Pivot, if one understands the teaching of mind-only, one is able to attain the Path by merely smelling the fragrance of a flower. Flying flowers and moving swords also can show one the truth. The *Zongjing lu* also emphasizes that those who do not truly understand the meaning of mind-only can not see Buddha-mind (*foxin* 佛心) in external phenomena. However, by following the thoughts of the various aspects of mind, Buddhas and tathāgatas can immediately and thoroughly comprehend the truth even with various thoughts in their minds.[33] This way of dealing with the relationship between one-mind and delusion displays Yanshou's distinct identity as a Chan monk.

From the perspective of the development of Huayan doctrine, Yanshou's understanding of one-mind is the same with that of Zongmi. Moreover, Yanshou argues that the establishment and endless interrelation of ten *dharmadhātu*s, four realms of the principle and phenomena, and other realms are all based on the *dharmadhātu* of one-mind (*yixin fajie* 一心法界).[34]

Yanshou's position is also consistent with the later Song Huayan thinkers' position that "the unitary and pure 'principle' is the basis of reality."[35] Even the most prominent Huayan (and Chan) master in the Northern Song (960–1127), Changshui Zixuan 長水子璿 (965–1038), cannot resist the influence of the Chan school. In his sub-commentary (*Qixin lun shu bixiaoji* 起信論疏筆削記) on Shibi Chuan'ao's 石壁傳奧 (d.u.) no longer extant *Qixin lun suishuji* 起信論隨疏記,[36] he remarks that the *Awakening of Faith* only discusses three of the four *dharmadhātu*s. It does not include the realm of *shishi wu'ai* 事事無礙, which represents the perfect teaching (*yuanjiao* 圓教) to the Huayan school. Zixuan explains that this is because the essence of one-mind (*yixin zhi ti* 一心之體) is the true *dharmadhātu* (*zhen fajie* 真法界). He therefore concludes that, although the realm of *shishi wu'ai* is not discussed in the *Awakening of Faith*, any discussion of *lishi wu'ai* implicitly included *shishi wu'ai*.[37]

In summary, Yanshou not only found a successful way to interpret and connect the Huayan school's philosophical doctrines with Chan's theory of mind-only, he also skillfully utilizes Huayan thought to supplement his Chan contemplative practice. Yanshou's thought also provides us with one example of how a Chan monk adopted Huayan thought in the period between the Tang and the Song dynasties.

33 T 2016: 48.778b15–17.
34 Ibid., 435c26–436a2.
35 Gregory 1999: 8–9.
36 Chuan'ao's work is a subcommentary on Zongmi's *Qixin lun shu* 起信論疏 and is listed in Ŭich'ŏn's 義天 catalogue, *Sinp'yŏn cheyong kyojang ch'ongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄, T 2184: 55.1175a15.
37 T 1848: 44.308a26–b4.

Appendix 1

The Ten Profound Gates in the *Zongjing lu* and the *Profound Pivot*

The *Zongjing lu*			The *Profound Pivot*
From Zhiyan's *Shixuan men* (T 2016: 48.641a12ff)		From Chengguan's *Huayan yanyi* (T 2016: 48.579c10ff)	Issue fifty-three
1	The gate of simultaneous completion and respondence	The gate of simultaneous completion and respondence	The gate of simultaneous completion and respondence
2	The gate of Indra's net	The gate of mastery of generation and specific	The gate of the mutual inclusion, and yet difference, of the one and many
3	The gate of the co-establishment of revelation and concealment in secrecy	The gate of the mutual inclusion, and yet difference, of the one and many	The gate of revelation and concealment
4	The gate of the concordant compatibility of the subtle and minute features	The gate of the mastery of mutual determination of all phenomena	The gate of the Indra's net
5	The gate of the segregation of phenomena and their different formation in the ten lifetimes	The gate of the co-establishment of revelation and concealment in secrecy	The gate of the endowment of all qualities
6	The gate of the endowment of all repositories with both purity and mixed qualities	The gate of the concordant compatibility of the subtle and minute features	The gate of mastery
7	The gate of the mutual inclusion, and yet difference, of the one and many	The gate of Indra's net	The gate of the concordance

The *Zongjing lu*			The *Profound Pivot*
8	The gate of the mastery of mutual determination of all phenomena	The gate of the reliance on phenomena to display Dharma and to generate understanding	The gate of ten life-times
9	The gate of the excellent creation of all phenomena through the transformation of mind only	The gate of the segregation of phenomena and their different formation in the ten life-times	The gate of the reliance on phenomena
10	The gate of the reliance on phenomena to display Dharma and to generate understanding	The gate of main and accompanying phenomena being endowed with perfection and illumination	The gate of the excellent creation of all phenomena through the transformation of mind only

Appendix 2

The Fifty-third Issue of the *Profound Pivot* and its English Translation

若不觀心，何成佛事？以萬法隨心迴轉，善成一切，能令凡聖交徹，大小[38]相含，隱顯互成，一多融攝。故云：「觀空心王，玄妙難測，無形無相，有大神力。」所以云：「此之供具，皆是無作法所印，無上心所成。」是以華藏山河，皆成佛事。

If one does not contemplate the mind, how can one accomplish Buddha deeds helping people to achieve enlightenment? The myriad things are transformed according to the mind and thus are all things established. This teaching of the mind can make the ordinary and the sacred interact with each other, the vast and the miniscule contain each other, revelation and concealment supplement each other, and the one and the many harmonize and encompass each other. It is said, "The mind of contemplating emptiness is profound and abstruse. It has no shape and no characteristic, but it has great divine power."[39] Therefore, it is said, "These kinds of offerings are the unconditional Dharma seal and made by the supreme mind."[40] Thus, the Flower

38 The Tenri manuscript uses the character "少" (*shao*) here, but for consistency I have changed it to "小" (*xiao*). See *Zongjing lu*, T 2016: 48.484a8.

39 This verse is quoted from the *Zongjing lu,* T 2016: 48.536b27–28. It is originally from the *Xinwang lun* 心王論 attributed to Fu Yi 傅翕. See *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, T 2076: 51.456c 25–26.

40 This sentence is quoted from the *Zongjing lu,* T 2016: 48.553a28–29. It is originally from the *Huayanjing*, T 279: 10.367c13–15.

Treasure world, rivers and mountains are all Buddha deeds helping people to achieve enlightenment.

> 善財知見，悉入法門。輪王坐妙寶床時，入四禪而離五欲。菩薩著法性冠處，見一切法，悉現在心。或寂寞[41]無言，示心輪而顯妙；或虛空絕相，化闍王以悟真。袈裟懸於高幢，香飯取於上土。或目擊而存道，或異相而傳心。放一毫智慧之心光，示種種塵勞之佛事。

The wisdom and views of the youth Sudhana are all in the Dharma teaching. When the Wheel Turning King sat in the profound and precious chair, entered the four *dhyāna*s and abandoned the five desires, and the bodhisattvas wore the crowns of dharma-nature, they saw all dharmas appearing in their minds. Sometimes, they are silent with no words, but the wheel of mind manifests excellently. Sometimes, it is empty and has no characteristics, but it makes King Ajātaśatru realize the truth. Sometimes, a monk's robe is hung on a high flag and fragrant rice is taken from a supreme land. Sometimes, merely by seeing, one obtains the Path.[42] Sometimes, by showing the form, the mind is transmitted. Sometimes, by emitting the light of the mind of wisdom, various Buddha deeds helping people to achieve enlightenment in the world are shown.

> 乃至如法華身內，積大鐵圍之山川。摩耶腹中，展不可說之世界，一塵中見難思之佛國，針鋒上立無邊之身雲。以四海之渺瀰，攝歸毛孔。用須彌之高廣，內入芥中。飛佛土於十方，未移本處。擲大千於界外，含識莫知。日月懸於毫端，供具現於體內，腹納劫燒之焰，火事如然，口吸十方之風，身無損減。斯皆自心轉變，不動而遠近俄分，一念包容無礙，而大小相入。

It is like that the lotus body contains Great Iron Mountains and rivers. In the womb of Māyā, an ineffable world expands. The inconceivable Buddha Land is seen in one particle of dust. Innumerable Buddhas stand on the tip of a needle. The four vast seas can be contained in a hair follicle, and the high and broad Mt. Sumeru can be contained in a mustard seed. It is like flying to the buddha-fields in the ten directions without leaving one's starting place at all; it is like throwing the world to outer space and not understanding that the world is still in one's consciousness. The sun and moon are hung on the end of a hair and offerings appear inside the body. Then the belly lets in flames that burn for eons; the burning is like this. A person inhales the wind from the ten directions, but the person's body does not shrink or expand. These are all the transformation of one's own mind, which is immovable and does not have the discrimination of near and far. In one thought, big and small forms interact with each other without obstruction.[43]

41 This character is "莫" (*mo*) in the Tenri manuscript, but according to the meaning of the sentence, it should be "寞" (*mo*).

42 This paragraph is quoted from the *Zongjing lu,* T 2016: 48.924b6–8. It is originally from the *Huayan jing*, T 279: 10.82a24–27. This translation is from Cleary 1993: 375, but with minor modifications.

43 This passage is quoted from the *Zongjing lu,* T 2016: 48.556c27–557a2.

或云：[44]香積去此，有四十二恆沙世界者，即是經歷四十二位心地法門。或云：散華瓔珞空中，成四柱之寶台者，即是常樂我淨，一心四德之涅槃。所以云：此華蓋等，皆是無生法忍之所生起。或佛言：彼時鹿王者，即我身是。結會古今，明自心一際之法。

It is also said that going from here to the world of the Buddha of Fragrance, there are as many worlds as there are grains of sand in forty-two Ganges Rivers; thus does one undergo the teachings of forty-two mind grounds. It is said that the spreading flowers and precious stones becomes a precious platform with four pillars which represents eternity, bliss, Self, and purity, the *nirvāṇa* of four virtues in one-mind. Therefore, it is said that these flowery canopies and so on are produced by the truth of nonproduction.[45] The Buddha says, "Long, long ago, the Deer King was me."[46] The Buddha combines ancient time and present time to illustrate the mind is a single reality.

或教中凡有空中發聲告示，言下息疑者，並是頓悟自心，非他境界。如解脫和尚得遇化佛，因請問深旨。佛隱身不現，空中說偈云：「方便智爲燈，照見心境界，欲知真實法，一切無所見。」因玆悟道。又如楞伽王聞佛說法後，佛與四眾，忽然不見。因此思維，頓入唯心之旨。

It is said in Buddhist texts that the Buddha preached from the sky and people eradicated their doubts immediately. This means that they immediately realized their own mind and that there were no other objects.[47] When the monk Jietuo met the Emanation-Buddha, he asked the Buddha for the meaning of the profound tenet. The Buddha became invisible and preached a verse from the sky:

By using the wisdom of expedient means as a lamp,
One lights up the state of mind.
If you want to know this true Dharma,
There is nothing that can be apprehended.[48]

Because of this, the monk attained liberation. Moreover, after the King of Laṅka listened to the Buddha's preaching, the Buddha and four assemblies suddenly disappeared.[49] In the same way, one suddenly understands the tenet of mind-only.

或法花移天人於他土，即是三變心田。或維摩取妙喜來此方，斯乃即穢明淨。或丈室容於高座，寶蓋限於大千。未離兜率，已般涅槃。不起樹王，而昇忉利。執手經無量之劫，登閣見三世之因。釋迦眉間，出菩薩身雲之眾。普賢毛孔，示諸佛境界之門。小器出無限之嘉羞，仰空而雨難窮之珍寶。不動此處，遍坐道場。

44 Ibid., T 2016: 48.558b29–c9.
45 This thought is originally from the *Huayan jing*, T 279: 10.118a25–26.
46 This story is originally from the *Huayan jing*, T 279: 10.148a6–13.
47 This passage is quoted from the *Zongjing lu,* T 2016: 48.558b23–29.
48 Ibid., T 2016: 48.942b9–12. It is originally from the *Dafangguang fo huayan jing yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T 1736: 36.115b22–23.
49 This story is originally from the *Ru Lengqie jing* 入楞伽經, T 671: 16.514c3.

十方寶坊，合爲一土。聞經於五十小劫，猶若剎那之時。現通於七日之中，舒之爲大一劫。

In the *Lotus Sūtra*, heavenly beings were moved to another land.[50] This is called the three changes of the mind ground.[51] In the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*, Vimalakīrti moved the World of Akṣobhya to this world.[52] This shows that an impure [land] is bright and pure. Moreover, a ten-foot square small room can accommodate a high seat; and a precious canopy can cover the whole world. Without leaving Tuṣita Heaven, one enters *nirvāṇa*; without planting the king tree, one ascends to Trāyastriṃśas Heaven. When one raises one's hand, immeasurable eons have passed. When one ascends a pavilion, one sees the causes of the three time periods. Between the eyebrows of Śākyamuni Buddha, the assembly of innumerable bodhisattvas appears. A single hair follicle of Samantabhadra shows access to the states of all Buddhas. Unlimited amounts of delicious food are taken from a small container. The sky rains indescribable treasures. Without moving from this place, one sits in every practice hall. The precious places in the ten directions are united in one land. Listening to Buddhist *sūtra*s for fifty eons is like an instant. When one obtains immediate comprehension in seven days, it expands into a great eon.

如王質遇仙，一局經三年，而謂食頃。周穆皇隨於幻士，積多年歲，實謂剎那。尚能以短爲長，以長爲短。故知：非多時劫，唯識所成耳。

It is also like Wang Zhi meeting the immortals playing *go*. One round was in fact three years long, but he thought it was merely the length of a single meal.[53] Emperor Zhou Mu followed a magician for many years, but in fact it was merely one instant.[54] Thus, short can be long and long can be short.[55] One should know that the length of time of eons is established by consciousness-only.

乃至六相義十玄門，皆是一心圓融，顯現無礙。六相義者，一心爲總相，多心爲別相，乃至能同能異，能成能壞，皆是一心本末建立。十玄門者，同時具足相應門，一多相容不同門，乃至隱顯門，帝網門，具德門，自在門，安立門，十世門，託事門，皆於此由心迴轉善[56]成一門，無量教義，一時成就。

50 T 262: 9.33a14.

51 In the chapter "Emergence of the Treasure Tower" in the *Lotus Sūtra*, the Buddha transformed this *sahā* world into a pure land three times, T 262: 9.32b–34a.

52 T 475: 14.555c1.

53 T 2016: 48.579a24–27. This story is based on the *Dongxian zhuan* 洞仙傳, v. 10. Wang Zhi came across a cave when he was cutting wood in the mountains. He entered the cave and saw two people playing *go*. He watched them until they finished the round. After he came out from the cave, he found that his ax was rusted and more than one hundred years had passed since he entered the cave. See *Yunji qiqian*: 791.

54 This story is from the chapter "Zhou Muwang" in the *Liezi*. See Zhou 1983: 56–70.

55 This passage is quoted from the *Zongjing lu*, T 2016: 48.579a25–26.

56 Morie's version miscopies this character as "義" (*yi*). See Morie 1981: 64.

Together, the six characteristics and the ten profound gates perfectly and harmoniously manifest one-mind without obstruction. Of the six characteristics, one-mind is universality and the various aspects of mind are particularity. In the same way, the mind can also be identity, difference, integration, and disintegration. These are all established by the root and branches of one-mind.

The ten mysterious gates are: 1. The gate of simultaneous completion and respondence; 2. the gate of the mutual inclusion, and yet difference, of the one and many; 3. the gate of revelation and concealment; 4. the gate of Indra's net; 5. the gate of the endowment of all qualities; 6. the gate of mastery; 7. the gate of the concordance; 8. the gate of ten life-times; 9. the gate of the reliance on phenomena; all of the above are due to 10. the transformation of mind, which excellently creates all phenomena.[57] [Thus] are innumerable teachings accomplished simultaneously.

以平等心是一義，差別心是多義。以一心即一切心，是相即義。是同時相應義，以一切心入一心，是相入義。以一心攝一切心，是隱義。以一切心資一心[58]，是顯義。以不壞差別心，而現平等心，是多中一義。以不隱平等心，而現差別心，是一中多義。又微細心不礙廣大心，廣大心[59]不礙微細心，是一多不同義。

Because the mind of equality is one, the differentiating mind is many. Because one-mind is the same as the mind of all [deluded] thoughts, this is the meaning of "mutual determination" and "simultaneous respondence." Because the mind of all [deluded] thoughts enters one-mind, this is the meaning of "interpenetration." Because one-mind encompasses the mind of all [deluded] thoughts, this is the meaning of "concealment." Because the mind of all [deluded] thoughts complements one-mind, this is the meaning of "revelation." Because the mind of equality is manifested without destroying the differentiating mind, this is the meaning of "many including one." Because the differentiating mind is manifested without concealing the mind of equality, this is the meaning of "one including many." Because the subtle mind does not obstruct the coarse mind, and the coarse mind does not obstruct the subtle mind, this is the meaning of "the difference of one and many."[60]

以一實心是純，差別心是雜，差別心即一實心，雜恆純；一實心即差別心，純恆雜，即諸藏純雜義。以一心帶一切心，還入一心，是帝網義。因心現境，見境識心[61]，是託事顯法義。長劫短劫，延促時量，皆從積念而成，一心所現，是十世義。因一心正義，演難思法門，究竟指歸，言亡慮絕，即唯心迴轉義。自心既爾，他心亦然。涉入交羅，重重無盡。

57 These ten gates are based on the *Huayan yisheng shixuanmen*, T 1868: 45.515b20–29. This translation is based on Cleary 1983: 132–33, but I have modified it slightly.

58 The Tenri manuscript reads "資一切心" (*zi yiqie xin*). For intelligibility, I followed the XZJ version, which omits the character "切" (*qie*).

59 Morie's version omits these three characters. See Morie 1981: 64.

60 This paragraph is quoted from the *Zongjing lu,* T 2016: 48.644a12–19. These ten profound gates are based on Zhiyan's *Huayan yisheng shixuan men* 華嚴一乘十玄門, T 1868.

61 Morie's version miscopies this sentence as "內世境識心" (*neishijing shixin*). See Morie 1981: 64.

Because one-real mind is pure, the differentiating mind is mixed. [However,] because the differentiating mind is one-real mind, the mixed is always pure; because one-real mind is the differentiating mind, the pure is always mixed. This is the meaning of "repositories with purity and the mixed." Because one-mind bears and enters the mind of all [deluded] thoughts, this is the meaning of "Indra's net." Because of mind, objects are manifested; when objects are seen the mind is known. This is the meaning of "revelation of Dharma by relying on phenomena." Long eons and short eons, long periods and short periods are all established by accumulated thoughts and manifested by one-mind. This is the meaning of "ten life times." Based on the correct meaning of one-mind, the inconceivable Dharma teachings are expounded, so that language is cut off and deluded thoughts are extinguished. This is the meaning of "excellent creation through the transformation of mind-only." One's own mind is thus; so are the minds of others. Mind interpenetrates and interacts without end.[62]

並是圓機入處，悉堪投足棲神。且如觀味聞香，皆能悟道。華飛劍動，盡可證真。語默嘗合，玄微動止。未離法界，乃至恆沙義聚，無量法門，舉一例諸，俱不出自心之法。故知：菩薩隨世所作皆表心。故淨名經云：「不捨道法，現凡夫事。」如云：「一念於一切處，爲一切衆生，示成正覺。是菩薩園林，法身周遍，盡虛空一切世界故。」

Furthermore, this is where sentient beings obtain the perfect teaching and rest their feet and spirits. It is similar to how, by tasting the flavor and smelling the fragrance, one is able to attain the Path. Flying flowers and moving swords all can show the truth. Although words are silenced, this corresponds with the truth. Although the profundities are subtle, disturbances cease. Without leaving the *dharmadhātu*, meanings innumerable as the sands of the Ganges come together. Innumerable teachings are explained by means of a single example, and none of them are outside one's own mind. Thus, one should know that all a bodhisattva does in any lifetime is merely from the mind. It is said in the *Jingming jing*, "Not abandoning the principles of the Path and yet showing oneself in the activities of a common person."[63] It is also said, "[The bodhisattvas] demonstrate all sentient beings the attainment of perfect enlightenment in one thought at everywhere. Based on this, innumerable bodhisattvas and the Dharma-body pervade all worlds in space."[64]

則知不用天眼，觀徹見十方際，曷假天眼？耳聽通聞法界聲，寧伏神足通疾至十方土？端坐寂不動，諸佛常現前。緊那羅琴，豈假調品而韻？似無聲之樂，何須

62 This passage is quoted from the *Zongjing lu*, T 2016: 48.644a19–27.

63 This sentence is quoted from the *Zongjing lu*, T 2016: 48.558c12–13. It is originally from the *Weimojie jing*, T 475: 14.539c22. This translation is based on Watson 1993: 37, but I have modified it slightly.

64 This passage is quoted from the *Zongjing lu*, T 2016: 48.558c13–15. It is originally from the *Huayanjing*, T 279: 10.286c29–287a1.

彈擊而成？故云：「摩訶迦葉久滅意根，圓明了知，不因心念。」又云：「我有一語，不過直語，小於毫末，大無方所，本自圓成，不勞機抒。」

Therefore, if without using the divine eye, one sees throughout the world in the ten directions, why does one need the divine eye? If the ears hear the voice of the *dharmadhātu* entirely, why does one need the supernatural power of divine feet to quickly go to [Buddha] lands in the ten directions? Sitting still without moving, the Buddhas always appear before one. Does the lute of Kiṃnara need to be tuned in order to play melody?[65] If the music is the music without sound, why does it need to be played? Thus, it is said, "Although Mahākāśyapa eradicated the root of consciousness a long time ago, he finally realized [the truth] perfectly by not depending on thought."[66] It is also said, "I have one sentence which I will teach you directly. It is as small as the tip of a hair; it is also very big without boundaries. It is originally perfect and does not need any effort."[67]

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65 According to the *Tanxuan ji*, Kiṃnara is a music god who plays wonderful music, T 1733: 35.135b21–22.

66 This sentence is quoted from the *Zongjing lu,* T 2016: 48.432b12–13. It is originally from the *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經, T 945: 19.123c5–6.

67 This paragraph is quoted from the *Zongjing lu,* T 2016: 48.942a1–2. According to the *Zongjing lu,* the original source is from *A Song of Monk Lanzan* 懶瓚和尚歌 by the Chan master Nanyue Mingzan 南嶽明瓚. A complete text of his song can be found in the *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載, T 2036: 49.606b4ff.

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SOME REMARKS ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *ILSŬNG PŎPKYEDO*[*]

Introduction

Consisting of a meandering diagram of 30 verses of 7 words each, accompanied by a brief introduction of only a few sentences, and a commentary filling somewhat more than seven pages of the *Han'guk pulgyo chŏnsŏ* (HPC), the *Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo* 一乘法界圖[1] ("Diagram of the dharma-realm[2] of the one-vehicle") undoubtedly is one of the most influential works of Silla Buddhism.[3]

For centuries, the text as a whole was commonly ascribed to Ŭisang 義湘 (625–702), the well-known Silla monk who went to China to study with Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668),[4] the implicit assumption being that it should be regarded an auto-commentary.

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1 *Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkyedo* 華嚴一乘法界圖, HPC 2.1a–8c. Due to the Zokuzōkyō and Taishō editions, the text is more commonly known under the name of *Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkyedo.* However, as SATO Atsushi has shown, in the majority of the traditional catalogues the title does not bear the expression "*Hwaŏm*". Cf. Sato 1999, p. 141f.

2 I.e., dharmadhātu.

3 There has been a vast number of publications on Ŭisang's thought in general, and on the *Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo* 華嚴一乘法界圖 in particular. A fairly recent survey on the state of research related to Ŭisang can be found in Choe 2002, an extensive bibliography of the secondary literature and reprints of some major contributions by Korean scholars (YI Ki-yong, KIM Haeju, NAM Dong-sin et alia) in Ŭisang ki'nyŏmgwan 2001. (Among others, also consult Kim 1994, 71–223 and Chŏng 1998, 117–182). For discussions of the *Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo* 華嚴一乘法界圖 in English language, refer to Odin 1982, which also contains a full translation of the commentary, and, although much more essayistic than his seminal "*Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkyedo-ŭi kŭnbon chŏngsin* 華嚴一乘法界圖의 근본정신" [The fundamental spirit of the Diagram of the dharma sphere of Hwaŏm] (first appeared in *Silla-Kaya munhwa* 4 (1972), reprinted also in Kim 2001), Yi Kiyong 1994.

4 A *Pŏpkyedo* 法界圖 is ascribed to Ŭisang (625–702) already in the *Sin pyŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄, Ŭich'ŏn's 義天 (1055–1101) inventory of the supplement to the Canon published in 1090. Cf. T 2184: 55.1166c29.

More recently, however, doubts have been raised whether the author of the seal diagram indeed was Ŭisang, or rather his mentor Zhiyan.

The present article attempt to re-approach the problem through a reassessment of certain passages in the *Pŏpkyedo ki ch'ongsu nok* 法界圖記叢髓錄, the implications of which appear to have been somewhat neglected. By the way of introduction, a short introduction of the diagram and its textual embedding for those not accustomed with the *Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo* 一乘法界圖 commentary will be given. Before turning to the respective passages, the two conflicting outlooks on the texts will have to be sketched, and a short digression on their shared main textual basis will be in place.

According to the HPC edition, the already mentioned introduction to the seal runs as follows:

> Now, the good teachings of the Great sage are without direction; responding to [the differing] capacities [of the living beings] and in accordance with [their] diseases, they are not one. Because of the last days, [during] which the deluded ones [concerning] the traces [in form] of the characters (*zi ji/chajŏk* 字迹) do not know that they loose the body (*ti / ch'e* 體, i.e. the essential) and zealously [strife to] return to the ancestor, [we] – relying on the [underlying] structure (*li / i* 理) and based on the teachings – by way of summary drew up a rotating poem (*banshi / pansi* 槃詩), hoping that the followers grasping at names still [may] return to the nameless true source.
> [As for] the method how to read the poem: One should start from the "dharma" in the middle as the beginning [point], and in numerous turns [follow] the bends, until reaching the "Buddha" as the end, by reading along the path of the seal. (54 corners, 210 characters)

> 夫 大聖善教無方 應機隨病非一
> 迷者 字迹 不知失體 懃而歸宗 末日故
> 依理據教 略制槃詩 冀以執名之徒還歸無名真源
> 讀詩之法 宜從中法爲始 槃迴屈曲 乃至佛爲終 隨印道讀 五十四角二百一十字[5]

Immediately afterwards, the seal itself is depicted (see next page).

In Steve Odin's only slightly deviant rendition,[6] the poem reads as follows:

1. Since dharma-nature is round and interpenetrating, It is without any sign of duality. 法性圓融無二相	16. *Saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, Are always harmonized together. 生死涅槃常共和
2. All dharmas are unmoving, And originally calm. 諸法不動本來寂	17. Particular-phenomena (*shi*) and Universal-principle (*li*)[7] Are completely merged without distinction. 理事冥然無分別

5 HPC 2.1a3–8; T 1887A: 45.711a5–a9. In the text given above, textual variants have been omitted, as these are of minor concern for the argument.

6 While Odin does resort to minor graphical variants some of which could not be reproduced, a semantic difference can be found only in verse 19, where Odin reads *in/ren* 仁 ("benevolent") instead of *in/ru* 入 ("to enter").

7 More literally: "structure".

一—一—微—塵—中—含—十 初—發—心—時—便—正—覺—生—死

一 量—無—是—即 方 成 益—寶—雨—議—思—不—意 涅

即 劫 遠—劫 念 一 別 生 佛—普—賢—大—人 如 槃

多 九 量 即 一 切 隔 滿 十 海—入—能—境 出 常

切 世 無 一—念 塵 亂 虛 別 印—三—昧—中—繁 共

一 十 是—如—亦—中 雜 空 分—無—然—冥—事—理—和

即 世—互—相—即—仍—不 衆—生—隨—器—得—利—益—是

一 相—二—無—融—圓—性—法 叵—際—本—還—者—行—故

一 諸 智—所—知—非—餘 佛 息 盡—寶—莊—嚴—法—界

中 法 證 甚—性—真—境 為 忘 無 隨—家—歸—意 實

多 不 切 深—極—微—妙 名 想 尼 分—得—資 如 寶

切 動 一—絕—相—無 不 動 必 羅—陀—以—糧 捉 殿

一 本—來—寂—無—名 守 不 不—得—無—緣—善—巧 窮

中—一—一—成—緣—隨—性—自 來—舊—床—道—中—際—實—坐

3. No name, no form, All (distinctions) are abolished. 無名無相絶一切	18. This is the world of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, And the Ten Buddhas. 十佛善賢大人境
4. It is known through the wisdom of enlightenment, Not by any other level. 證智所知非餘境	19. In Buddha's ocean-seal samādhi, 能仁海印三昧中
5. The true-nature is extremely profound, Exceedingly subtle and sublime. 眞性甚深極微妙	20. Many unimaginable (miracles) are produced, According to one's wishes. 繁出如意不思議

6. It does not attach to self-nature, But manifests following (causal) conditions. 不守自性隨緣成	21. This shower of jewels benefiting all sentient beings, Fills all of empty space. 雨寶益生滿虛空
7. In One is All, In Many is One. 一中一切多中一	22. All sentient beings receive this wealth, According to their capacities. 衆生隨器得利益
8. One is identical to All, Many is identical to One. 一即一切多即一	23. Therefore, he who practices (contemplation), Returns to the primordial realm. 是故行者還本際
9. In one particle of dust, Is contained the ten directions. 一微塵中含十方	24. And without stopping ignorance, It cannot be obtained. 叵息妄想必不得
10. And so it is, With all particles of dust. 一切塵中亦如是	25. By unconditional expedient means, One attains complete freedom. 無緣善巧捉如意
11. Incalculable long eons, Are identical to a single thought-instant. 無量遠劫即一念	26. Returning home (the primordial realm) you obtain riches, According to your capacity. 歸家隨分得資糧
12. And a single thought-instant, Is identical to incalculable long eons. 一念即是無量劫	27. By means of *dhāraṇī*, An inexhaustible treasure. 以陀羅尼無盡寶
13. The nine times and the ten times, Are mutually identical. 九世十世互相即	28. One adorns the *dharmadhātu*, Like a real palace of jewels. 莊嚴法界實寶殿
14. Yet are not confused or mixed, But function seperately. 仍不雜亂隔別成	29. Finally one resposes in the real world, The bed of the Middle Way. 窮坐實際中道床
15. The moment one begins to aspire with their heart, Instantly perfect enlightenment (is attained). 初發心時便正覺	30. That which is originally without motion, Is named Buddha. 舊來不動名爲佛[8]

8 Odin 1982, Preface, xix–xx. The Chinese text has been added, and the transcriptions of Chinese terms have been transposed from Wade-Giles into Pinyin.

The seal having been presented, an outline of his commentary is given:

> Wishing to explain the text, two [access] gates are set apart: first, explaining the intention of the seal by generalizing; second, elucidating the characteristics of the seal seperately.
> Question: Why does [one] rely on the seal?
> Answer: Because [one] wants to manifest [how] the three kinds of worlds comprised by the Thus-come Śākyamuni's net of teaching originate in the ocean-seal *samādhi*, emerge in rotation and become visible. What one calls the 'three worlds': First, the world as a vessel (containing the material things), second, the world of the living beings, third, the world of the correct awakening [based on] wisdom.
> [Those] who correctly awake [based on] wisdom are the buddhas and bodhisattvas, beacause in the three kinds of worlds [they] comprise and exhaust the [various] dharmas.
> That one does not treat the rest: As for the broad meaning: [It] is like the *Huayan jing* says.
> In the second gate of seperate characteristics, [again] three gates are set apart: First, exposing the characteristics of the seal text; second, clarifying the characteristics of the characters; third, explaning the intention of the text...
>
> 將欲釋文 二門分別 一總釋印意 二別解印相
> 問何以故依印
> 答 欲表 釋迦如來教網所攝三種世間 從海印三昧 槃出現顯故
> 所謂三種世間 一器世間 二衆生世間 三智正覺世間
> 智正覺者 佛菩薩也 三種世間攝盡法故
> 不論餘者 廣義者 如華嚴經說
> 第二別相門中 三門分別 一說印文相 二明字相 三釋文意...[9]

As can be seen from the passages quoted, at first glance the introduction gives rise to the impression that the diagram and the commentary were the work of a single author. Later on, however, the commentary explicitly raises the issue of authorship, giving a distinctively "Buddhist" answer to the problem, which nevertheless might be considered somewhat suspicious:

> 'The one seal combining the verses' of the *Ilsŭng pŏpkedo* based on the *Huayan jing* and the *Shidi lun* manifests the ancestor and essentials of the perfect teaching. It was recorded on the 15th day of the seventh month in the first year of Zongzhang [period] (668).
>
> 一乘法界圖 合詩一印 依華嚴經及十地論 表圓教宗要 總章元年七月十五日記
>
> Question: Why does one not see the personal name and style of the compiler?
> Answer: Because [this] manifests that all conditionally arisen dharmas have no owner.
>
> 問 何故不看集者名字
> 答 表緣生諸法無有主者故
>
> Further question: For what reason is a name [given] in [respect to] year and month?
> Answer: Because [this] manifests that all dharmas arise based on conditions.
>
> 又問 何故在年月名
> 答 示一切諸法依緣生故[10]

9 HPC 2.1b1–9; T 1887A: 45.711a41–b4.
10 T 1887A: 45.716a3–7.

The Dispute and Its Textual Basis

In 1996, the Chinese scholar YAO Changshou introduced a stone inscription unearthed at Yangshan (70 km Southwest of Peking), which – apparently buried somewhen between 1118 and 1196 – bears the introductory lines and the seal.[11] While the textual differences to the versions of the HPC text, which is based on sources preserved in Japan, are negligible, this version still differs significantly in as much as the characters *Huayan shi zao* 華嚴師造 ("created by a Huayan master", or, somewhat less likely, "created by Master Huayan") have been added to the introduction. Not surprisingly, Yao draws the conclusion that in fact Zhiyan is the author of both the seal and the introduction. – Following the Venerable Haeju, we may summarize the main arguments as follows

– The addition to the introductory preface indicates that both the poems and the introduction were written by Zhiyan.

– The use of the word *ki* 記 ("record") upon giving the date when the text was produced indicates that one cannot consider the compiler of the preface and the seal to be identical with the one recording it. Furthermore, the use of the designation *chipcha* 集者 ("compiler", instead of *chakcha* 著者, or "author") relates to the compilation of the seal and the commentary. Thus, these two have to be distinguished. Likewise, the title *Pŏpkyedo chang* 法界圖章 given at the end of the Taishō edition indicates that the text as a whole is but a commentarial exposition, into which a separately existing *Pŏpkyedo* 法界圖 has been integrated.

– The use of the phrase *Yŏn pul p'il ŭi Ch'oe chŏng ya* 然不必依崔傳定也 ("But [the question of authorship] should not necessarily be determined based on the biography [written by] Ch'oe") in Kyunyŏ's 均如 (923–73) *Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkyedo wŏnt'ong ki* 華儼一乘圓通記 indicates that the eminent Koryŏ monk considered the account attributed to Ch'oe Chiwŏn not necessarily correct.

– The phrase *Chang yok sŏk mun* 將欲釋文 ("Wishing to analyze the text…") in the commentary itself again entails that the introduction cum seal and the commentary have to be distinguished.

– The Fangshan stone inscription appears to antedate the late 12th or early 13th century text contained in the Taishō, as well as the *Pŏpkyedo ki ch'ongsu nok* 法界圖記叢髓錄, which here is ascribed to the 14th century monk Ch'ewŏn 體元. Besides, in Korea the text as a self-contained unit had been lost until Chosŏn times.

– The earliest extant commentary on the text is Kyunyŏ's *Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkyedo wŏnt'ong ki* 華儼一乘圓通記, which, although written down in 1287, derives from a manuscript lectured upon by Kyunyŏ in the 7th month of the year 958.

11 Yao 1996.

This commentary, however, asserts that the seal and the commentary originally were distinct.

- The assumption that the author of the seal in 30 verses and the commentary are identical goes back to Ŭisang. Attributions to Fazang 法藏 in other commentaries should be regarded as wrong.
- As the *Pŏpkyedo ki ch'ongsu nok* 法界圖記叢髓錄 indicates, the so-called Kŭnbon in 根本印 ("fundamental seal", an expression for the diagram as occurring in the commentary) might be one among 73 seals allegedly written by Zhiyan.
- Ŭisang's mention of the date of recording, which cannot be found in the biographical sources, should be considered significant: Zhiyan already knew that he would pass away, and by encorporating the date into his commentary, Ŭisang might have wanted to underline its acknowledgement by Zhiyan and thus its authoritativeness.
- The line of thinking in the poem seal confirms to other works by Zhiyan.[12]

In a forthcoming article based on a paper presented in 1997[13], John Jorgensen seems to very carefully express general consent with the underlying basic hypothesis. However, it should come as no surprise that the ascription of the seal to Zhiyan has met with fierce resistance from Korean scholars, who follow the assumption that the stone inscription was actually based on Ŭisang's text. Thus, the Venerable Haeju point to point refutes Yao's arguments. The arguments forwarded again can be summarized as follows:

- Yao himself refers to the doubtful attributions of texts to Du Shun 杜順 (558–640) and Fazang appearing in the same material. Thus, the actual provenance of the Fangshan seal might be questioned: It might very well have been taken from Ŭisang's commentary, the reference to Zhiyan being a later addition.
- The terms *ki* 記 and *chip* 集 only refer to the seal, and not to the commentary. The position that all parts of the text go back to Ŭisang derives from Ch'oe Chiwŏn's biography, and is also found in the [Koryŏ work] *Paekhwa toryang palwŏnmun yakhae* 白花道場發願文略解. The attribution to Zhiyan can be found only in [indirect quotes from] the Wŏnsang nok, and there would only refer to the *Pŏpsŏng ke* 法性偈, i.e. the poem. Thus, all works ascribe the *pansi* 槃詩 or "rotating poem" to Ŭisang. Likewise, one should dismiss the assumption (as maintained by Jorgensen) that the introductory preface, which is also contained

12 Haeju 1999, 208–211.

13 "The authorship and cultural matrix of the *Ilsûngpôpgyedo* 一乘法界図". I should express my gratitude to Prof. Jorgensen for the generousity of making this significant article accessible to me. The article provides a wealth of helpful ideological and cultural background information on related diagrams, which I will refrain from reproducing in this context.

in the stone inscription, has to be separated from the commentary: In that case one should expect the commentary to begin with explanations on the preface, which it does not even mention. Furthermore, by analysis of the contents it can be shown that Ŭisang first wrote the diagram and the exposition, and later wrote a preface based on the latter.

- Yao's reading of the phrase *Yŏn pul p'il ŭi Ch'oe chŏng ya* 然不必依崔傳定也 is erroneous: The correct meaning of the phrase would be that the same conclusion could also be reached by adducing other evidence.
- The attribution of the introduction to Ŭisang can be found already in the *Wŏnsang nok.*
- Reference to Ŭisang is made already in Yongming Yanshou's 永明延壽 (904–75) *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 (961), where both the seal and the commentary are quoted. Although the *Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo* 一乘法界圖 as a self-contained text had been lost by Chosŏn times, it was still available through the *Ch'ongsu nok*, which is not a work written by Ch'ewŏn and contains quotations from Silla dynasty works, among others from a record by Pŏbyung 法融 (end of 8th century).
- According to the extant sources, Ŭisang passed the seal on to his disciples P'yohun 表訓, Chinjŏng 眞定 etc., and his successors wrote expositions on it. Also, Chi-t'ong 智通 is said to have received the seal from Ŭisang.
- The idea that this might be one of 73 diagrams by Zhiyan goes too far.
- The date serves to clarify the conditional arising of the diagram.
- The seal does not fully confirm to Zhiyan's thought.[14]

Again, Jorgensen adduces enough circumstantial evidence to back up the first assumption, and thus the reader is referred to his forthcoming article. Among the remaining points, the second one of course is the most interesting, and we should have a look at the pertaining passages. As the wording in the *Paekhwa toryang palwŏnmun yakhae* 白花道場發願文略解 appears to be based on one of the earlier texts and poses yet further textual problems, we will concentrate on the two underlying accounts. Thus, in the *Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo wŏnt'ong ki* 一乘法界圖圓通記 we find the following information:

> One says: "[If it comes to] the poem of 30 verse-lines of 7 words, then this is what Master [Zhi]yan created, [if it comes to] the explaining [text], then this is what Sir Sang (i.e. Ŭisang) expounded."
> That means the *Wŏnsang nok* says: "At the time Sir Sang received [the teachings of] Huayan at the place of Master Yan, Master Yan composed a poem of 30 verse-lines of 7 words in order to confer it to Master Sang.

14 Haeju 1999: 211–215.

Master Sang then drew on top of the black characters a red seal in order to present it. The master sighed and said: 'You have exhaustively born testimony to dharma-nature and have penetrated to the Buddha's intention and purport. It would be suitable to create an explanation.'
Master Sang at first created an explanation of more than 40 pages in order to forward it to the master. The master wanted to know whether it matched the intention of the Buddha or not. Right in front of the Buddha he would establish a vow and burn it, and all burned away. [Sang] again created more than 60 pages and forwarded [them]; [they] also burned away. Again, he created more than eighty pages to forward to the master. The master together with the [Tae]tŏk Sang also like before burned them. In [their] middle, there were burned and not-burned [parts]. The unburned writings now circulate in the world."

一云 七言三十句詩 則儼師所造 能釋則相公所述
謂元常錄云 相公 於儼師所受花嚴時 儼師造七言三十句詩 以授相公
相公則於黑字上 畫赤印以獻 師歎曰 汝窮證法性達佛意旨 宜造於釋
相公 初造四十餘紙釋 以進師
師欲知合佛意否 將至佛前 立願燒之 悉皆燒盡
又造六十餘紙進 亦燒盡 又造八十餘紙進師 師共相德 亦如前燒之
於中有燒不燒 不燒之文 今行於世[15]

Unfortunately, the *Wŏnsang nok* 元常錄 cannot be identified. As Jorgenson suggests, this designation might have resulted from a permutation of *Sangwŏn nok* 常元錄, in which case it would refer to an (otherwise unknown) work by one of Ŭisang's disciples. And yet, while the overall tendency towards numerology may be regarded typical of Zhiyan and his successors, it has also been pointed out that the series of 40, 60 and 80 appears to have been inspired by the various editions of the *Huayan jing* and betrays a considerable degree of artificiality in the above record. On the other hand, the major textual evidence for the theory that Ŭisang was the author of the diagram not only derives from the same text, but itself may be considered not less artful:

One says: "In the biography narrated by Ch'oe Chiwŏn it is said:
'At the time Sir Sang received Huayan at the place of Master Yan,[16] in a dream there was a spirit 神人, whose appearance was very tall and robust. Speaking of Sir Sang, he said that to make an exposition based on what he himself had awakened to and bestow it on others would be suitable. Again, in a dream [the Bodhisattva] Good Wealth (Sudhāna) gave him more than ten pills of wisdom-medicine. Again, he met a blue-clothed boy, who thrice gave him secret oral instructions.'
[When] Master Yan heard this, he said: 'The spirit gave numinous presents to me once and to you thrice. You have come across from afar and practiced diligently, and the [future] reward for this such is manifested.' Consequently, he ordered [Ŭisang] compile and order [a text], so that he could glimpse what [Ŭisang] had obtained.
At that time, [Ŭisang] exerted his brush and wrote the *Dasheng xuan zhang* in ten fascicles, asking the Master to point out the flaws.
Yan said: 'The meanings are very beautiful, but the wordings still obstruct [them].'

15 HPC 4.1a5–15.
16 It should be noted that the wording of this passage is the same as in the first quotation.

> Thereupon, [Ŭisang] retreated and weeded out the complicated [wordings] in four traversals, and styled it "*Liyi chongxuan*", wishing to honour the meanings of the *Souxuan fenqi* written by his master.
> Yan then went with Sang to pray before the Buddha, made a vow so as to burn it, and moreover said: 'In the case that [in] the words there is [something] matching the Saint's purport, we wish that they will not burn'. Afterwards, from the remaining ashes he obtained 210 characters, and caused Sang to gather them. [They] sincerely swore and again threw [the characters] into the fierce flames, but unexpectedly they would not burn away. Yan, having tears [in his eyes], sighed, and had [Sang] compose [them] into *gāthas*.
> [Sang] shut his room for several evenings and accomplished thirty verses, including the profound purport of the three contemplations and raised the remaining beauties of the tenfold darkening.
> Therefore, the thirty verses of seven words are also something written by Mr. Sang.
> The latter meaning can be admitted [as correct]. But one does not have to decide relying [only] on Ch'oe's biography:
> After this exposition now has stated about itself: "Relying on the structure and in accordance to the teachings, abbreviating [we] made a rotating poem", then what is explained is also [something] exposed by the owner of the diagram. Why should one need to quote corroborating evidence in support? Moreover, [why does] Zhixiang's (i.e. Zhiyan's) *Conduct* make no mention of the affair of composing the thirty verses in seven words?

> 一云 崔致遠所述傳中云
> 相公 於儼師所 受花儼時 夢有神人 貌甚魁偉
> 謂相公曰 以自所悟 著述施人 宜矣
> 又夢善財授聡明藥十餘劑
> 又遇青衣童子 三授秘訣
> 儼師聞之曰 神授靈覞 我一爾三 遠涉勤修 厥報斯現
> 因命编次 窺澳所得
> 於是奮筆 緝大乘玄章十卷 請師指瑕
> 儼曰 義甚佳 詞尙壅
> 乃退而芟繫爲四通 號曰立義崇玄 盖欲崇其師所著搜玄分齊之義
> 儼乃與相詣佛前 結願焚之
> 且曰 言有脗合聖旨者願不爇也
> 既而煨燼之餘 獲二百十字
> 令相捃拾 懇誓更擲猛焰 竟不灰
> 儼 含涕嗟稱 俾綴爲偈
> 閉室數夕 成三十句 括三觀之奥旨 舉十玄之餘美已上
> 故七言三十句 亦相公所述也
> 後義可許 然不必依崔傳定也
> 今釋既自叙 依理據教 略制槃詩 則 所釋亦是圖主自述斷矣[17]

As can be inferred from the points of agreement between the two accounts, they again appear to relate to a common underlying narrative. – However, a detailed tex-

17 HPC 4.1a15–b15. My rough translation of this passage is heavily indebted to Jorgensen's much more polished rendition. – This and the preceding passage have been quoted in full in Jorgensen's forthcoming article.

tual analysis eventually would not lead too far, as the following short digression on the textual history of the text containing these accounts will manifest.

In his *Sin pyŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄, Ŭich'ŏn 義天 (1055–1101) remarks concerning Chit'ong's (654?–?) [*Hwaŏm*] *youi mundap* [華嚴要義問答] (aka. *Ch'uhyŏl mundap* 錐穴問答) and Tosin's (n.d.) [*Hwaŏm ilsŭng*] *yoŭi mundap* [華嚴一乘]要義問答 (aka. *Tosin chang* 道身章), two texts based on lectures by Ŭisang:

> Note: Ŭisang's biography in the Monks' history of the Great Song says: "At times he took the brush and wrote on a sash, and he [always] carried lead and tablets at his bossom. – Transcripts [of them] were like collections knotted together, copies [of them] resembled recorded speech [in administration].
> [In the case of] such gates of meanings [one] gives a title according to the disciple [responsible for the edition]: If one says '*Tosin chang*', it is [just] this. Or, at times one creates a name by [referring to] a place, as like if one says '*Ch'uhyŏl chang*'"[18], and so on.
> Yet, as the compilers of those times were not yet good in literary style, their paragraphs and sentences consequently were mean and coarse, and mingled with local language. – Sometimes it is the case that the Great Teaching flows over [at the beginning], and that the effort lies merely in complying with the occasion. Later gentlemen ought to add an embellished countenance.
>
> 按 大宋僧史義湘傳云 或執筆書紳 懷鉛札葉 抄如結集 錄似載言
> 如是義門 隨弟子爲目 如云道身章是也 或以處爲名 如云錐穴問答等云云
> 但以 當時集者 未善文體 遂致 章句鄙野 雜以方言
> 或是 大教濫觴 務在隨機耳 將來君子 宜加潤色[19]

It does not need to be emphasized that the passage quoted from the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 provides an interesting, albeit somewhat sobering, glimpse into pratices of lecturing and editing in 7th–8th century Silla: As the undoubted compiler of the *Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo* commentary, Ŭisang definitely was rather well-versed in both reading and writing Buddhist hybrid Sinitic. Nonetheless, he apparently would hold vernacular lectures, taking down vernacular notes in their preparation. His disciples would base their transcripts of the lectures mainly on these notes, transforming them – more or less successfully – into some sort of BhSi still "tainted" by the vernacular.

Although Ŭich'ŏn's own attitude clearly mirrors the "literary consciousness" of a leading Hwaŏm exegete of the capital (who at the same time was the third son of the ruling king), there is nevertheless no reason to doubt his devastating account of the shape of these lecture records. Thus, Ishii Kōsei has shown that the text of the [*Hwaŏm*] *yoŭi mundap* [華嚴]要義問答 preserved in Japan still contains traces of the vernacular.[20] – Even harsher criticism, however, Ŭich'ŏn directs at works commonly attributed to Koryŏ monks:

18 Cf. *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T 2061: 50.729b27–c1.
19 T 2184: 55.1167b25–c2, quoted and paraphrased in Nam 1999: 30.
20 Kōsei 1996: 272–276.

> [That] the spurious writings considered by the world to be of the Masters Kyunyŏ, Pŏmun, Chinp'a and Yŏngnyun, in [their] words do not constitute texts (or: sentences), [that] in [their] meanings they are without [unfying bond] going through the transformations, and that they render the path of the patriarchs desolate, confusing those born later: There is nothing worse than this!
>
> 世所謂均如梵雲真派靈潤諸師謬書 語不成文 義无通變 荒蕪祖道 熒惑後生者 莫甚於斯矣[21]

As a matter of fact, the editorial postfaces to four transcripts of lectures held by Kyunyŏ and one text ascribed to Kyunyŏ himself, edited after careful collation of available materials by the eminent monk Ch'ŏn'gi 天奇 (fl. 1226–1248?)[22] and his disciples, indicate that the situation had indeed not changed significantly at least until the beginning of the Koryŏ dynasty: Most of these editions involved the comparison of several transcripts (or records, *ki* 記).

According to its postface, the *Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo wŏnt'ong ki* 一乘法界圖圓通記 had been prepared based on a vernacular (*pangŏn pon* 方言本) transcript of a lecture held in 958, which had been recorded by Kyunyŏ's disciple Pŏpchin 法璡 (n.d.), and a *Hanmun* translation of this lecture record (*Hanyŏk pon* 漢譯本) prepared by a certain Hyŏn'yŏ 玄如, which contained further deviations and errors due to the circumstance that the translator personally had not witnessed any lecture by Kyunyŏ. By Ch'ŏn'gi's times, only the *Hanmun* version had been available, until Ch'ŏn'gi's contemporary Inwŏn 印元, abbot of Kŭmsaeng-sa, rediscovered the old text, and the monk Ildang 日幢 completed an edition in two roles based on a collation of the texts. Reportedly because this manuscript was feared to be in danger of being lost, it was again reedited by Ch'ŏn'gi and submitted by him and his collaborators for printing. The print version having been lost, the only extant written copy dates from the year 1287.[23]

From these brief remarks, it should have been become obvious that it is difficult to decide whether the *Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo wŏnt'ong ki* 一乘法界圖圓通記 should be attributed to Kyunyŏ, Pŏpchin, Ildang, or Ch'ŏn'gi: On the one hand, we have reason to assume a strong philological orientation on the side of the editors, and – although perhaps somewhat too naively – we thus may concede that both the extant version and its predecessor may have aimed at a faithful reconstruction of Kyunyŏ's lecture as mediated by the available records. On the other hand, given the circumstance that at least parts of the *Hanmun* translation were considered inferior to the vernacular version, one should not give too much credit to the actual wordings of the quotations contained in the text.[24] This observation again might be not without

21 Cf. *Taegak kuksa munjip* 大覺國師文集, *kw.* 16, HPC 4.556b9–11, quoted in Nam 1999: 31, n. 4.

22 The standing of this monk can be seen from the fact that during his career he served both as abbot of the Haein-sa and Supervisor on Doctrine at Hŭngwang-sa.

23 Cf. HPC 4.38c5–39a8, esp. 38c14–39a4; *Han'guk pulgyo ch'ansul munhŏn chongnok* 96–97, no. 5.

24 In fact, we do not even know to what extant the quotations were collated with versions of the reference texts available to the editors. Likewise, we do not know the extent to which additional content was added.

significance in our context. Thus, the attribution of the poem to Ŭisang based on the anonymous (!) reference quoting from the lost (!) Ŭisang biography reportedly written by Ch'oe Chiwŏn depends on the correctness of a single character in the phrase ***pi*** *chŏ wi ke* 俾綴爲偈. ("… **had** [Sang] compose [them] into *gātha*s…").

Applied numerology: 73, or rather 70 × 3?

In the *Pŏpkyedo ki ch'ongsu nok* 法界圖記叢髓錄, which according to KIM Sang Hyun is likely to have been also compiled by Ch'ŏn'gi[25] and thus probably dates to the 13th century, we find a series of possibly more helpful quotes, several among them from a *Record* by Pŏbyung Taedŏk (fl. 800), a disciple of Sillim and thus a member of the fourth generation after Ŭisang.[26]

These quotations from what should be regarded the earliest extant elaborations on the *Pŏpkyedo* not only seem to support the assumption that Zhiyan was the author of the verses and that Ŭisang's contribution was the congenial addition of a vermillion line to a previously existing seal of characters. They furthermore indicate that the idea of producing seals visualizing the ultimate oneness of the dharmas had been put into practice already by Zhiyan:

> The Taedŏk Pŏbyung's *Record* says:
> "… This 'One' of the one-vehicle as well as the one vermillion seal seperate from beginning and end [presented] below this [passage] and Master Yan's One character seal(s) within the 'Gate of mutual production of origin and end' are all of one meaning."
> That [he] attaches the One character seal(s) at the head of the *Great Sūtra*: [He] wishes to clarify that in the whole work, from the beginning to end, sentence by sentence and verse by verse merely reveal the One. Furthermore, that [he] attaches the one character seal at the passage on opposing that which deviates (i.e. heresies) and revealing the correct in [his] five *kwŏn* commentary: [If] one produces a dualistic understanding of the dharmas, this is "deviation"; [if] one knows that the dharmas are one, then this exactly is the "correct" [view].

> 法融大德記云
> 此一乘之一及此下離始終之一朱印
> 與儼師本末相生門中一字印並一義也
> 大經之首按 一字印者 欲明 一部始終所說文文句句唯現一也
> 又 五卷疏對邪 現正之處按一字印者 於諸法中若生二解
> 則是邪 知法是一即是正也[27]

While we can only speculate on whether the mentioned "One character seal(s)" should be thought of as shaped in the form of the character "one", consisting of one

25 Kim 1991: 41.
26 Kim 1991: 42. Sillim had studied under Ŭisang's disciple Sangwŏn 相元 (n.d.) and was considered the legitimate heir to the Pusŏk tradition. Cf. Kim 1991: 313.
27 T 1887B: 45.716c24–a4.

character, or of separate individual characters, it is remarkable that Zhiyan is reported to have employed seals designed to visualize oneness in at least two texts. The *Pŏpkyedo ki ch'ongsu nok* 法界圖記叢髓錄 also contains some interesting numerological speculations. – Quoting from a nowadays lost work supposedly written in the early Koryŏ period, it says:

> The Great record says: "As for the two-hundred ten characters: [Starting with] the five rounds of cause and fruit, one takes away the first [pair of] cause and fruit, and selects the causes and takes up the fruits from among the latter four rounds. In each of the four rounds of reasons, there are 50 ranks, therefore one accomplishes 200. [As to] the rank of the fruits contained in the four rounds: One combines the four into one. Because one wants to visualize that these fruits uniformly are the fruits of the ten buddhas, one says '10'.
> Furthermore, it says: "[The phrase] '…is (or: are) the three worlds, ten gates and ten dharmas which are visualized in this ocean seal' means: The metaphor of the 10 coins and the ten universal dharmas [further] below in the text make up 20, [and these] 20 each discuss the ten-fold darkening. Combined [they] make up two hundred'. Because one adds the original ten darkenings, one says 'two hundred and ten'. "

大記云 二百一十字者 五周因果 除初因果
於後四周簡果取因 於四周因各有五十位
故成二百 其四周中所有果位合四爲一
欲現此果同是十佛果故 言一十也
又云 此海印中所現三世間十門十法也
謂下文十錢喻及十普法爲二十 二十各論十玄 合爲二百 并本十玄故 云二百一十也[28]

Quite obviously, these calculations do not help us too much concerning the matter under consideration. However, they are immediately followed by another numerological account:

> Furthermore: "This seal is the general, the seventy [by] three seals are the separate. In the [case of the] separate seals, one takes 70 seals and continues them through a seal of the three boundaries.
> Since for each single boundary there are 70 seals, combined they make up 210."
> Therefore, combining the 210 seals, one completes the one seal with the characteristic of generalness of the ocean-seal *samādhi*.
> As for the thirty verse-lines of seven characters: The dharma similes [presented] before each are ten. One adds the original ten darkenings, and combined they make up 30.
> As these 30 verses do not go beyond the 7 characters of the title of the *sūtra*, one makes a poem by means of 7 words [per verse-line].
> Therefore, although the dharmas of the dharma-realm are inexhaustible, they do not go beyond the 210 characters. Generalizing this, one then accomplishes 30 verse-lines. Again generalizing this, they do not go beyond the seven characters. Again generalizing this, they do not go beyond structure and wisdom. Again generalizing this, they do not go beyond the one most clean dharma-realm. – Therefore, the title says: *The Diagram of the dharma-realm of the one-vehicle.*

又此印爲總 七十三印爲別
就別印中 將七十印 歷三際印

28 T 1887B: 45.718b10–b20.

一際各七十故 合爲二百一十也
故 合二百一十印成 一海印三昧總相印 也

七言三十句者 前之法喻各十 并本十玄 合爲三十
此三十句不出經題七字故。以七言造詩也

是故法界之法雖云無盡
不出二百一十字
總此即成三十句
又總此不出七字
又總此不出理智
又總此不出一最清淨法界
是故題云一乘法界圖也[29]

Against conventional wisdom expressed in the secondary literature, we apparently have reason to read "70 x 3 seals", instead of "73 seals". Thus, the reference would not entail that Zhiyan wrote 73 seals in all, but rather that he composed "70 x 3" seals (here referring to individual characters). – The source underlying this passage or perhaps even the passage itself again seems to be echoed in a quote appearing even in the spurious *Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo wŏnt'ong ki* 一乘法界圖圓通記:

> Furthermore, the old worthy says: "This seal is the seal with the characteristic of generalness, the seventy [by] three are the seals (or: seal) with the characteristic of separateness. Further, in the seventy [by] three of these separate characteristics, the 3 boundaries are the general. The insides of these 3 boundaries each contain 70. Therefore it [makes] 210." – Therefore, one says "210 characters". [If] one now wants to visually unite the 210 seals contained in the three boundaries [so that they] form the one ocean-seal. [That] is such because of the seal with the characteristic of generalness.

又古德云 此印是摠相印 七十三印是別相印
又此別相七十三中 三際是摠
此三際中各具七十 故二百一十也
故云二百一十字也 今欲現合此三際印中 所具二百一十印 成一海印 摠相印故爾也[30]

The circumstance that the pertaining section ends with these words seems to suggest that the compilators, and possibly even Kyunyŏ himself, while being critical of the attribution of the poem to Zhiyan, did not object against the application of the 70 × 3 numerology as such. In fact, the expression *ch'il-sip san in* 七十三印 seems to be used very much in the same sense in the following quote from Pŏbyung's *Record*, again contained in the *Pŏpkyedo ki ch'ongsu nok* 法界圖記叢髓錄:

> [Tae]dŏk Pŏbyong's *Record* says:
> "[As for] 'The One seal combining the verses': The vermillion stroke of the One Way combines all black characters, and the squares [of the seal] form the round (i.e., perfect) seal. Therefore, one says 'combining the verses'.

29 T 1887B: 45.718b20–b29.
30 Cf. HPC 4.4b1–7.

Question: Does [one] draw the vermillion stroke after having written the black characters? Or does [one] write the black characters after having drawn the vermillion stroke?
Answer: The two [answers] both are right.
That [one] writes first and afterwards draws: [this is] due to the meaning that the structure originates with (or: 'follows') the affairs.
That [one] draws first and afterwards writes: [this is] due to the meaning that the affairs originate with (or: 'follows') the structure.
Although Master [Zhi]yan created the 70 [by] 3 seals, he only wanted to reveal the meaning of the one seal, and because Monk [Ŭi]sang deeply understood the intention of the Master, he merely created this one fundamental seal."

法融德記云 合詩一印者 一道朱畫合諸黑字 方成圓印 故云合詩
問書黑字後畫朱畫耶 畫朱畫後書黑字耶
答二俱是也
先書後畫者 以理從事之義
先畫後書者 以事從理之義也
儼師雖作七十三印 但欲現其一印之義
而相和尙深得師意故 唯作此一根本印也[31]

As implied by the two options concerning the order of the characters and drawing the stroke, the question apparently does not refer to the way the al" diagram was written, but rather to the way it *should* be written: The passage refers to a meditative[32] writing practice, in the course of which the diagram, i.e. both the 70 x 3 characters and the one vermillion stroke are to be created anew.

Also, the seamless juxtaposition of the statements on the temporal order of writing and drawing and the references to Zhiyan's and Ŭisang's seals seems to suggest that the former's [written] seal (i.e. the 30 × 7 "character seals") and the latter's [drawn] seal are complimentary parts which in fact are forming a whole.

How then does this relate to Ŭisang's *Ilsŭng Pŏpkyedo*? – Unfortunately, there is no mention of the vermillion stroke. However, the term *kŭnbon in* 根本印 ("fundamental seal") does occur:

What is called "six characteristics": The characteristic of generalness, the characteristic of separation, the characteristic of identity, the characteristic of difference, the characteristic of completion, the characteristic of destruction.
The characteristic of generalness:
[It is found in] the fundamental seal.
The characteristic of separation:
[It is found in] the excessive bends. – Because they separately depend and rest upon [the path of] the seal and fill that seal.
The characteristic of union:
Because they enter the seal. – By which one means: Because the bends are separate, but unitedly [form] the seal.

31 T 1887B: 45.718a18–24.
32 The meditative context will become even more evident from the next quote.

The characteristic of differentiation:
Because of the characteristic of increase. – By which one means: Because the first, second, etc. turn separately increase the calmness.
The characteristic of completion:
Because of the summarizing exposition. – By which one means: Because one completes the seal.
The characteristic of destruction:
Because of the extended exposition. – By which one means: Because the numerous turns and bends each and every are not created from the very beginning.
[Among] all dharmas produced by conditions there is none which is not completed by [means of] the six characteristics.

所謂六相者 總相 別相 同相 異相 成相 壞相
總相者根本印
別相者餘屈曲 別依止印滿彼印故
同相者[入]印故 所謂曲別而同印故
異相者增相故 所謂第一第二等曲別增安故
成相者略說故 所謂成印故
壞相者廣說故 所謂繁廻屈曲
各各自本來不作故 一切緣生法 無不六相成也[33]

As can be seen from the above quotation, also Ŭisang himself uses the designation *kŭnbon in* 根本印 not in reference to one particular seal among several ones, but in order to designate the diagram as a unity, as in contrast to its parts. Moreover, the reference to the increase of calmness (*an* 安) with each bend again corroborates the assumption that the seal was used in a meditation practice designed to lead towards the experience of *haein sammae* 海印三昧.

Some Preliminary Conclusions

As has been demonstrated, in the light of the textual history of the *Ilsŭng pŏpkyedo wŏnt'ong ki* 一乘法界圖圓通記, there is ample reason to doubt the evidential value of the quotational excerpt from the otherwise not extant biography ascribed to Ch'oe Chiwŏn, which serves as the major textual basis for the thesis that the poem has been written by Ŭisang. On the other hand, the quotes from Pŏbyung's *Record* in the *Pŏpkyedo ki ch'ongsu nok* 法界圖記叢髓錄 are not only consistent with each other, but – as far as their numerological contents are concerned – are not put to question even in the former text. Also, at least the notion of the "one fundamental seal" as opposed to its meandering parts can be found already in Ŭisang's commentary.

As has been pointed out in the secondary literature, Ŭisang is reported to have transmitted the diagram to several of his students. At this point, one could speculate

33 HPC 2.1c5–12; T 1887A: 45.711b22–29.

whether Pŏbyung's early account possibly might have been a forgery made up by later authors in an attempt to establish hegemony among competing lineages, but there is no concrete evidence pointing in that direction. Quite to the contrary, the scarce circumstantial evidence we have seems to indicate that Pŏbyung enjoyed unrivaled popularity and thus also himself would have had little reason to invent a legimatory tradition.[34]

As can be inferred from the above, I am inclined to suggest that – at least in the light of the evidence we have at hand – the verses of the *Pŏpkyedo* indeed were not composed by Ŭisang but rather by Zhiyan, and that Ŭisang's own contributions were to arrange the verses in a diagram and to add the all-pervading vermillion stroke. In his further explanations to the diagram, Ŭisang equates the characteristic of separateness (*biexiang* 別相) with the three teachings (*sanjiao* 三教) and the characteristic of generalness (*zongxiang* 總相) with the round teaching (*yuanjiao* 圓教). While both adhere to the middle way (*zhongdao* 中道), they represent very different perspectives: Whereas the first and the last bend of the diagram signify the reason and the result of enlightenment as perceived in the expedient three teachings, the diagram seen as a whole reflects the perspective of the round teaching, in which there is no "before and after".[35] Thus the addition of the single stroke provides an astounding new dimension to the diagram: Without it, the verses would have remained biased towards a temporal, "worldly" perception of the path to awakening. Adding the one pervasive stroke and thus underlining the unity of the diagram, Ŭisang took the qualified step of reinterpreting the phrases and characters themselves as tokens of seperateness/temporality and balancing them with a symbol for the aspect of generalness/atemporality. Thus, he created an intricate device for a truly "round" meditative practice.

Of course, at this point one might raise the objection that Ŭisang's commentary, while referring to "the one fundamental seal", does not explicitly mention the vermillion line. This, however, might be related to the usage of the diagram in the nascent Silla Huayan tradition: As Jorgensen and in nuce already Odin have pointed out, the diagram has to be understood in the framework of esoteric practices. It is therefore not too far-fetched to assume that there might have been exoteric as well as esoteric explanations to it. This assumption appears to be supported by the circumstance that the tradition names several of Ŭisang's disciples as recipients of a transmission of the seal, which seems to indicate that there was at least something about it which initially would not be disclosed in public. – In other words, we may raise

34 Furthermore, being only two generations removed from Ŭisang, he would have met strong resistance by other offsprings of the nascent tradition. By contrast, Kyunyŏ seems to have been involved in factional struggles between the *Namak* and *Pukak* factions, which are partially regarded as mirroring a political background at the end of Silla (pro or contra Wang Kŏn), but are also viewed as reflecting the Fazang and the Ŭisang lineage, respectively. Cf. Haeju 1992, 114f.

35 HPC 2.1c13–2a5, and T 1887A: 45.711b29–c9.

the question whether the commentary might only reflect the exoteric part of the transmission.[36]

Most obviously, more research should be done in order to substantiate (or falsify) this hypothesis. If we accept it for the moment, however, it should give rise to further considerations. Thus, the case of the diagram seal(s) contained in Ŭisang's commentary might very well be seen as merely an extreme instance of a more general phenomenon of unmarked incorporation of the teacher's writings into lecture records (*ki* 記),[37] and a reminder of how arbitrary our historicising ascriptions of a given text to an individual may be. Furthermore, the intricate reference to the conditional arising of the diagram in Ŭisang's commentary cautions us concerning the problematic nature of the very concept of an "author" or "editor" in the Buddhist context. At the same time, it reminds us that the still quite fashionable attempts at "deconstructing" the author are not that modern after all.

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36 This esoteric dimension also would be another explanation for the fact, that later conflicting versions concerning the origin of the diagram would arise.

37 In fact, the majority of early Sino-Korean commentaries extant today seem to be either notes prepared for or notes recording lectures. Needless to say, in the latter case the distinction between editor and author at least in some cases becomes blurred.

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CHARLES MULLER

WŎNHYO'S RELIANCE ON HUIYUAN IN HIS EXPOSITION OF THE TWO HINDRANCES

1. The Two Hindrances as Representative Buddhist Soteriological Paradigm

Precursory Models for the Hindrances in Early Indian Buddhism

When Yogācāra specialists take on the task of trying to introduce the tradition to newcomers and non-specialists, whether it be in a book-length project, or an article in a reference work, they inevitably choose different points of departure, depending on their particular approach to understanding Yogācāra, and Buddhism in general. Some will start with the explanation of the eight consciousnesses; some will start with the four parts of cognition; some will start with the three natures; others will start with the doctrine of no-self, and so on. There is no special need to try to assess whether one of these approaches is better than the other, for indeed, in the vast and complex system that is known as Yogācāra, all of these different approaches and categories are ultimately tied into each other, and thus, starting with any one of them, one can eventually enter into all of the rest.

Another approach, partially utilized in a recent introductory Yogācāra book by the Japanese Yogācāra specialist Yokoyama Kōitsu – Yasashii yuishiki ("Easy Consciousness-Only"), would be to take the two hindrances as a point of departure for an introduction to the Yogācāra soteriological system. This is also a viable approach, since there is nothing within the Yogācāra system that cannot be tied into or developed from the two basic categories of problems that Buddhist practitioners must work their way through: (1) afflictive/emotive disorders and (2) distorted apprehensions of reality.

The two hindrances 二障 are the afflictive hindrances (*kleśa-āvaraṇa* 煩惱障; also rendered in English as "obscurations from defilement," "veils of the afflictions," etc.) and the cognitive hindrances (*jñeya-āvaraṇa* 所知障, 智礙; "obstructions of the knowable," "obscurations of omniscience," etc.). These two broad categories are a way of articulating what Buddhism takes to be the two basic categories for the main problems of the human condition: (1) that we suffer from a wide range

of emotive imbalances, such as anger, jealousy, pride, lust, dishonesty, and so forth, which come into existence based on the fact that (2) we live in a state of continuous misapprehension of reality, reifying and attaching to conceptual constructs that lead us to see our own existence as an autonomous "self," along with the assumed intrinsic, "as-is" reality of the objects that surround us.

Even though the two hindrances do not appear as expressly articulated doctrinal categories until fourth century Mahāyāna, one may argue that in retrospect, it is not only Yogācāra that may be explained through these two perspectives, but just about any form of Buddhism that places emphasis on the application of individual effort toward a path of moral discipline, meditation, and wisdom.[1] This includes not only the Mahāyāna schools that are based on meditative practices, but early Indian Buddhism and modern forms of Theravāda.

For example, the remedies of the eightfold path can be analyzed in terms of their application to these two kinds of hindrances, with its components of moral discipline, concentration, and right thought being applicable to afflictive problems, and right view being applicable to cognitive problems. Within the twelve-linked chain of dependent arising, the first link, ignorance, can be seen as a cognitive problem, with the important eighth and ninth links of desiring and grasping being afflictive troubles. Or again, among the three poisons, ignorance can be seen as representing the core cognitive issue, with the pair of attraction/aversion being the ground of afflictive difficulties.

As Indian Buddhism developed into its Abhidharmic stage, the meaning of the concept of "ignorance" became clearly associated with the errant mental function of imputing in our beings the existence of an isolable and enduring self, or ego. As this self is believed in, and attached to, it produces an identity (*asmimāna*), and then desires to accumulate things and create stability for itself. It then compares itself with other selves, which, being judged through this self's own colored view, are assessed as superior, inferior, or mistakenly equal. Name, profit, and comparative evaluation become a perpetual preoccupation of this self, and thus it cannot but continually suffer from desire, pride, jealousy, ill-will, resentment, and a whole gamut of troubling thoughts and emotions. In Abhidharma, this array of afflictions becomes precisely schematized within their chart of seventy-five mental factors.

Prioritizing the Cognitive in Mahāyāna: Bodhi *and* Śūnyatā

With the attachment to an imputed self understood as the source of all problems, there was in Abhidharma apparently not yet a perceived need to differentiate the

1 Thus, other-power oriented schools such as Pure Land, and chanting oriented schools such as Nichiren Buddhism really don't fit in here. It is not that practice and attainment within these schools could not also be explainable from the perspective of the hindrances. But since the practices in early Buddhism, Madhyamaka, Yogācāra, Chan, and so forth that are applied toward the removal of the hindrances cannot but fall under the "self-power" rubric, it would be hard to initiate a discussion of the hindrances in the context of other-power oriented systems.

types of obstructions to liberation into the pair of cognitive and afflictive. However, with the arrival of Mahāyāna, as part of the broadening of the discourse that occurred with the shift from early Indian scholasticism to the Mahāyāna-based Yogācāra 唯識 and Tathāgatagarbha 如來藏, the inclinations and character of the bodhisattva as Mahāyāna hero came to be defined in the context of the three intertwined concepts of emptiness, compassion, and *bodhi* (enlightenment), which supersede the Abhidharmic trio of no-self, indifference (*upekṣā*), and *nirvāṇa* (cessation). In defining the course of the bodhisattva's practice through the five stages,[2] the Yogācāras took great pains to provide reference to the two lesser vehicle practitioners of the Abhidharmic arhat path – *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s, mainly so that detailed distinctions could be made between their practices and progress in comparison with those of the bodhisattvas.[3] A key element utilized in making this distinction was the newly introduced classification of all mental disturbances (*kleśa*, *doṣa*) into the two categories of afflictive hindrances and cognitive hindrances.

Parameters for the Cognitive Hindrances

The Mahāyāna teaching of *śūnyatā* had taken the earlier doctrine of no-self to a new level of subtlety by arguing that it was not only the individual self, or ego, that lacked an intrinsic and defining nature, but also all the objective dharmas, "things" (*fa* 法) that we perceive, whether these be physical objects, mental images, or linguistic constructs. It was understood by Mahāyānists that the uncritical acceptance of the reality of the phenomena that we cognize was a far subtler and more pervasive stumbling block than the imputation of an ego, and that if this was not overcome, the tendency to reify an ego-conception would be especially difficult to eradicate. To only eliminate the notion of an ego in the way of a lesser-vehicle Arhat was a stage significantly removed from that of buddhahood, which implied the attainment of *bodhi*-enlightenment. Thus, the cognitive hindrances in the Yogācāra system were defined as attachment to dharmas – "phenomena" (Ch. *fazhi*; K. *pŏpchip* 法執).

The cognitive hindrances were understood to operate at a generally subtler level than the afflictive hindrances, serving as the causes for the generation of the afflictions (simply put, the various kinds of suffering that we experience are ultimately caused by our mistaken understandings of reality). Also, while the karmic moral

2 The five stages are: 1. the stage of preparation (*ziliang wei* 資糧位), 2. the stage of applied practices (*jiaxing wei* 加行位), 3. the stage of proficiency (*tongda wei* 通達位) (also known as the stage, or "path," of seeing *jiandao* 見道), 4. the stage of practice (*xiuxi wei* 修習位) and 5. the stage of completion (*jiujing wei* 究竟位).

3 We often hear the reason for this inclusion of the "two-vehicle" practitioners being described as "polemical" in purpose. In other words, as a means for disparaging the "Hīnayāna" system. There is probably a certain amount of validity to this, but I would tend to take this inclusion as simply a doctrinal practicality. Why reinvent the wheel (i.e. create an entirely new path structure) when you already have one that just needs a few modifications?

quality of the afflictive hindrances was understood to almost always be of negative value, the cognitive hindrances were in most cases karmically indeterminate, or neutral (*avyākṛta*, Ch. *wuji*; K. *mugi* 無記) – a characteristic that would also tend to make them less obvious to identify and treat. In other words, although the cognitive hindrances continually lead us to believe that we are seeing things as they actually are, they are usually not in themselves "bad."[4]

For the purposes of getting a general grasp of the differences in character between the hindrances, the above characterization can be understood as being basically accurate. And on a very broad basis, the above model of the hindrances is used as the standard for distinguishing the content of the Mahāyāna path from the so-called Hīnayāna path. The general characterization is made that the practices of the adherents of the two vehicles (*śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s) are limited in their focus and application of contemplation to the afflictive hindrances, while the practices of the bodhisattvas can be applied to both. This means that the two-vehicle practitioners are limited in their enlightenment to their realization of selflessness to that of their recognition of *anātman*, and thus only attain the Hīnayāna *nirvāṇa*, whereas the bodhisattvas penetrate further, to the meaning of *śūnyatā* and can hence attain *bodhi* equal to the buddhas.

In this very basic and general Mahāyāna doctrinal device, the general understanding of the meaning of the two hindrances in juxtaposition with each other is relatively uniform throughout both the Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha corpora, as it is a seminal component to the explanation of the five-stage path of the bodhisattva in contradistinction to that of the two lesser vehicles in both the Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha systems. In making the general distinctions between the five stages in the path to perfect enlightenment laid out by the Yogācāras, one of the most oft-used set of criteria is that of the extent to which a practitioner has first quelled (Ch. *fu*; K. *pok* 伏), and then permanently eliminated (Ch. *duan*; K. *tan* 斷) the various manifestations of each of the two categories of hindrances, with final elimination of the most subtle forms of the cognitive obscurations (their karmic-impression form) being the last treatment of mental imbalance, leading to the attainment of buddhahood.[5]

It should be kept in mind that each of the types of hindrances is really a rubric for a broad category of mental disturbances and imbalances, each one having a wide range of variations in its manifestations. For example, each type of hindrance has both subliminal/dormant and conscious/active aspects; and each can carry on to some extent in the form of karmic impressions (*vāsanā*s) after the main dormant and active forms have been quelled or eliminated. And despite the general lesser vehi-

4 Some descriptions of the cognitive hindrances in the works of commentators such as Huiyuan and Wŏnhyo will even mention such positive tendencies as love of the Dharma to be cognitive hindrances. In the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*, even extremely advanced realizations are included in the category of cognitive hindrances.

5 For a detailed explanation of the role of the hindrances defining in this process, see the entry on the five paths (*weishi xiudao wuwei* 唯識修道五位) in the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* at *http://www.acmuller.net/ddb*.

cle/greater vehicle distinctions that are made between two, a little bit of understanding of the standard descriptions of both kinds of hindrances is going to lead the astute student to wonder if there are not some gray areas between the two. There are.

While the standard definition that one sees given to these two hindrances in shorter summaries inevitably explains the afflictive hindrances to be the object of the religious practice of the adherents of the two vehicles, and the cognitive hindrances to be the special domain of the bodhisattvas, finer analyses of the hindrances, in texts that give detailed treatments, explain the two hindrances as having a wide range of interpretations that defy easy compartmentalization. As Wŏnhyo says:

> When it comes to the cognitive hindrances, there are some that the two-vehicle practitioners eliminate and some that they do not eliminate. The arhats who are liberated through *wisdom-only* do not eliminate any of the cognitive hindrances. Those who are liberated through the combined practice of meditation and wisdom are able to remove some of the cognitive hindrances. This means the undefiled ignorance that hinders the eight kinds of liberation is to be countered by the cultivation of the eight kinds of verification. As the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* says: "Furthermore, liberation is manifested through the liberation from the cognitive hindrances. Based on this, the *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s attain liberation from the mental states of the cognitive hindrances."
>
> 所知障中有斷不斷。惠解脫人都無所斷。俱解脫者分有所斷。謂八解脫障不染無知修八勝解所對治故。如瑜伽說。又、諸解脫由所知障解脫所顯。由是聲聞及獨覺等於所知障心得解脫。故。[6]

It is furthermore usually the case that finer interpretations of the hindrances are contingent upon a given text's particular position regarding the constitution and operation of consciousness.

It only takes a bit of clear-minded thinking to guess that it could not be the case that two-vehicle practitioners do not deal at all with cognitive problems, or, conversely, that bodhisattvas necessarily have some kind of handicap when dealing with afflictive problems. The point is, though, that while bodhisattvas must of course overcome their own afflicted karmic conditioning, they must also be able, at a fairly early juncture, to begin coping with the correction of cognitive obscurations that hamper their work of teaching unenlightened sentient beings. *Śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s tend to be concerned with extinguishing their own afflictions, rather than the removal of the suffering of others, and are thus, relatively speaking, lacking in motivation to develop the wisdom of expedient means necessary to teach others.

At a commonsense level, it is obvious that emotional imbalance is going to have an effect on cognitive clarity. For instance, as the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 says:

> The cognitive hindrances also obstruct *nirvāṇa*. Why is it said that they only obstruct *bodhi*? And it is said that the afflictions only obstruct *nirvāṇa*. How could they not be capable of obstructing *bodhi*? You should know that the holy teaching relies on the most prominent function in explaining the principle. In fact, both are able to pervasively obstruct the two realizations.

6 The citation from the *Yogācārabhūmi* is from T 1579: 30.645c10–11; the citation from Wŏnhyo is from the *Yijangŭi*, HPC 1.809b13.

所知障亦障涅槃。如何但說菩提障。說煩惱但障涅槃。豈彼不能障菩提。應知聖教依勝用說理。實俱能通障二果。[7]

Furthermore, at the level of the individual mental factors themselves, there are afflictions listed in the Yogācāra table of dharmas that are obviously both cognitive and afflictive in character, such as the *four afflictions of the manas*, the most insidious being the conceit "I am" (*asmimāna*). There are also problems in the effort of trying to strictly define the means and potential for eliminating different sorts of hindrances of both categories, depending upon at how deep a layer of consciousness they are thought to reside.

What has been related above represents nothing more than the barest outline of hindrance theory, only hinting at the wide range of complexities involved in setting forth a comprehensive and coherent system. Furthermore, what is outlined thus far only scratches the surface of *one* type of system – that which can be extrapolated from the Yogācāra texts of the Asaṅga-Vasubandhu stream, which influenced the East Asian Faxiang school of Xuanzang and Kuiji 窺基 (632–682). There are other systems of the hindrances that vary from this one significantly, which we have not yet touched upon, and which in fact ended up holding greater influence in East Asian Buddhism. But before I move to the introduction of these (actually, we will only discuss one other system in significant detail in this paper), I would like to digress briefly to provide some peripheral background as to how this particular paper fits in to my larger research project on the hindrances.

2. Wŏnhyo and the *Yijangŭi*

I have already cited Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617–686) once above, but before proceeding further I would like to clarify the extent which I am indebted to this eminent Korean scholar–monk for the understanding I have gained of the hindrances and their associated problems thus far. This is because the bulk of the basic framework for my acquisition of a modicum of understanding of this topic was initially gained from my work with Wŏnhyo's remarkable treatise, the *Yijangŭi* 二障義 (*Doctrine of the Two Hindrances*).[8] The *Yijangŭi* represents the culmination of the results of a research project that Wŏnhyo undertook in between the writing of his two famous commentaries on the *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith [AMF]*[9]. As I have explained in detail in a

7 T 1585: 31.56a3–6.

8 HPC 1.789c–814b.

9 In rendering the title of the *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 as *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith*, as opposed to Hakeda's *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* I am following the position put forth by Sung Bae Park in Chapter Four of his book *Buddhist Faith and Sudden Enlightenment*. See Park 1983. There he argues that the inner discourse of the text itself, along with the basic understanding of the meaning of Mahāyāna in the East Asian Buddhist tradition does not work according to a Western theological "faith in..." subject-object construction, but according to an

recent article,[10] Wŏnhyo began to delve into hindrance theory in the course of his attempts to properly deal with the brief, but pivotal discussion of the hindrances contained in the *AMF*. Taking note of the radical difference in connotation to be seen with the hindrances as they are described in the *AMF* as compared with that found in the Yogācāra texts recently made available to him via the translations of Xuanzang 玄奘 (600–664) and his team, Wŏnhyo was spurred to undertake a full-length study of the hindrances, to clarify the range and categories of their implications.

The *Yijangŭi* is an incredibly thorough work in the degree to which the problems related to affliction and delusion are examined, compared, sifted, and reconciled. First working exclusively within the Yogācāra interpretation of the hindrances (introduced above), Wŏnhyo uncovers and treats a broad range of problems, mostly concerned with differences in the way that various thinkers understood the constitution of the eight regions of consciousness, and the degree to which each of the hindrances affected and/or resided in each of these regions. He also analyzes the hindrances into a dizzying array of strength, subtlety and coarseness, after which he moves on to examine the complexities of their removal by different types of practitioners, through the various Yogācāra paths and practices. He does this work through citations from such basic Yogācāra classics as the *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra*, the *Yogācārabhūmi [YBh]*, *Madhyānta-vibhāga*, along with a couple of dozen other texts.

Having extensively clarified the structure of the hindrances within the Yogācāra system, he then turns to the significantly different explanation of the hindrances set forth in the *AMF*. The *AMF*'s articulation of the hindrances works from its basic structure of intrinsic enlightenment (Ch. *benjue*; K. *pongak* 本覺) vs. activated enlightenment (Ch. *shijue*; K. *sigak* 始覺), beginningless ignorance, and the treatise's description of the fall into suffering and the production of karma through nine progressive stages that are initiated by the first movement of mind. The afflictive obstructions of the *AMF*, rather than being grounded in the six fundamental afflictions that arise from the view of an ego (as in standard Yogācāra texts), are instead defined as this *first movement of mind*, termed as "intrinsic ignorance," or "non-enlightenment." The sentient being does not cognize the quiescent and unitary nature of suchness that is the one mind, and thus (1) the mind karmically moves due this ignorance (Ch. *wuming ye*; K. *mumyŏng ŏp* 無明業), initiating, in a downward spiral: the perception of the (2) subjective perceiver (Ch. *nengjian*; K. *nŭnggyŏn* 能見) and (3) objective world (Ch. *jingjie*; K. *kyŏnggye* 境界), (4) mental discriminations (Ch. *zhi*; K. *chi* 智), (5) continuity (Ch. *xiangxu*; K. *sangsok* 相續), (6) attachment (Ch. *zhiqu*; K. *chipch'wi* 執取), (7) definition of names (Ch. *ji mingzi*; K. *kye myŏngja* 計名字), (8) production of karma (Ch. *qiye*; K. *kiŏp* 起業), and finally, (9) suffering and transmigration (Ch. *yexi ku*; K. *ŏpkye ko* 業繫苦). Thus the starting point of the afflictive hindrances, rather than being the mistaken reification of an ego as in Yogā-

indigenous East Asian essence-function (*ti yong* 體用) model. Thus, Mahāyāna should not be interpreted as a noun-object, but as a modifier, which characterizes the *type* of faith.

10 Muller 2004.

cāra, is defined as the *inability to perceive suchness*, which means that it is actually, in the framework of the prior explained Yogācāra system, much more like a cognitive obscuration than an emotive affliction.

The cognitive obstructions of the *AMF* are defined in the context of their ability to obscure the function of activated enlightenment (Ch. *shijue*; K. *sigak* 始覺), as the *inability to accurately discriminate the things of the world*. Although the framework of the *AMF*'s pair of hindrances cannot be said to be bereft of any connection whatsoever to the original Yogācāra set, the basic explanation provided in regard to the makeup and activity of the unenlightened vs. enlightened mind is significantly different in its approach.

After clearly distinguishing these two different approaches, Wŏnhyo labels the former (Yogācāra) approach as the "exoteric" explanation, and the latter (*AMF*) approach as the "esoteric" explanation, since, as he notes, the latter subsumes the former. This is because all of both kinds of hindrances in the Yogācāra system can be included within the category of the afflictive hindrances of the *AMF*, while the cognitive obstructions of the *AMF* form a whole new category of interpretation.

Wŏnhyo extensively cited the *YBh* and other standard Yogācāra works to elucidate and analyze the first set of hindrances, and uses a completely different set of texts to define a coherent body of discourse for his explanation of the *AMF*'s pair of obstructions. Here, he builds his arguments from the classical texts of the Tathāgatagarbha tradition: the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*, the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經,[11] *Ratnagotravibhāga* and so forth. As it turns out, these texts are tied together by more than simply being of the same Tathāgatagarbha pedigree: they also each contain sections that define the relationship between ignorance and affliction in terms of the four and five "entrenchments" (*vāsabhūmi*, Ch. *zhudi*; K. *chuji* 住地 – latent bases, or seeds, of various kinds of delusion and affliction). Wŏnhyo's investigation and analysis of these abstruse and complex categories is, as usual, exasperatingly detailed and thorough, and is eventually brought around to interface with the Yogācāra model.

The *Yijangŭi* is an unusually difficult text, the difficulties being compounded by the extent of its corruption, and thus working through it, along with all of the citations from his source texts was in itself a formidable task. Because of this, at the time I was engaged in the translation itself I did not do that much comparative study with other commentarial treatments of the hindrances as described in the *AMF*. I had read Fazang's 法藏 (643–712) commentary on the *AMF* in the past, and hence knew that in his treatment of the hindrances, Fazang gives little more than a summary of Wŏnhyo's analysis. Since Wŏnhyo does not mention Huiyuan 慧遠 (523–592), and I had never seen special mention accorded to Huiyuan elsewhere in my studies of the two hindrances, I was not motivated to check his commentary on the *AMF* to see how he treated the section on the hindrances, and thus only began to look at it recently. Having now done so, I can only say that I am delighted to have found a whole new treasure trove of two hindrances discourse – one which is fascinating in

11 T 1485.

itself, and pulls together so many loose ends, that in itself it could well serve as the subject of a much longer article. It is to Huiyuan's work that we now turn.

3. Huiyuan's Explication of the Hindrances

Wŏnhyo and Huiyuan

We modern scholars have mixed feelings when comparing the character of our work with that of our classical counterparts. Certainly the best of our early predecessors possessed an internalized mastery of the canonical corpus far superior to our own, coupled with sharp analytical skills and insight developed over years of deep study. One of their scholarly practices that many of us find annoying, however, is the lack of a tradition of peer citation equivalent to our own. Admittedly, they were usually good at accurately citing their scriptural sources, but most of them didn't care much about identifying or accrediting their contemporary or near-contemporary colleagues. At least Wŏnhyo didn't. If he had, I would have been onto Huiyuan's track several years ago, and I would have known that Wŏnhyo's entire systematic explanation of the esoteric/*AMF* hindrances, being grounded in the scheme of the five entrenchments found in the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*, *Ratnagotravibhāga*, etc., was most likely inspired, to some extent or another, from Huiyuan's essay on the hindrances contained in his commentary to the *AMF*. This is not to say that Wŏnhyo plagiarized Huiyuan. For although it is clear that Huiyuan's work represents a definite point of orientation for Wŏnhyo, Wŏnhyo goes so far beyond his predecessor in working these relationships out, that we really cannot voice any complaint of dishonesty.

This being said, we still must acknowledge Huiyuan's treatment of the hindrances as being formidable, and in my own research on the hindrances thus far, I see it as being second in terms of thoroughness in treatment only to Wŏnhyo. Of course, Wŏnhyo had a major historical advantage, in coming along roughly a century after Huiyuan, since in the century between came Xuanzang, with all of his new translations of the Yogācāra texts, most importantly, the *Yogācārabhūmi*.

Huiyuan's Treatment of the Hindrances

It is evident that Huiyuan took the matter of the explication of the hindrances to be something of relatively great importance within the context of his work on the *AMF*. His full commentary to the *AMF* is twenty-five pages in the Taishō, and despite the fact that the *AMF*'s discussion of the hindrances constitutes only a few lines, he devotes three full pages of discussion to the hindrances.[12] Given the disproportionately large treatment of this topic accorded by both Huiyuan and Wŏnhyo, we must as-

12 T 1843: 44.188c1–191c1.

sume that at least one of three possible factors motivated this detailed inquiry into the matter: (1) a felt need to straighten out confusion generated from the discussion found of the hindrances in the *AMF*; (2) a sense of a more general situation of vagueness and confusion due to the fact of varying interpretations of the hindrances in prior literature, and (3) a sense of the unique vantage point provided by hindrance theory in shedding light on the soteriological positions of the emerging Tathāgatagarbha tradition.

Huiyuan classifies the hindrances according to three levels of profundity, all of which are explained through the framework of the four/five entrenchments. The first level, which is the most straightforward and readily apprehensible, is (1) the one that takes the four afflictive entrenchments (*si zhu fannao* 四住煩惱) to be directly equivalent to the afflictive hindrances, and the nescience entrenchments (*wuming zhudi* 無明住地) to be directly equivalent to the cognitive hindrances. (2) In the second approach, the natures of all five entrenchments (*wu zhu* 五住) are collectively understood to constitute the afflictive hindrances, while the inability to properly cognize distinct phenomena (*shizhong wuzhi* 事中無知) constitutes the cognitive hindrances. In this approach, ignorance is distinguished into two types: confusion in regard to principle, and confusion in regard to distinct phenomena. (3) In the third approach, the essence of the five entrenchments, as well as obscuration of cognition in regard to distinctions in phenomena are taken to be the afflictive hindrances, leaving only the function of discriminating wisdom itself as the cognitive hindrances. Rendered graphically, the scheme looks like this:[13]

	煩惱障	智障
1	四住煩惱	無明住地
2	五住性緒 + 迷理無明	事中無知
3	五住性 + 事無知 + 迷理無明	分別緣智

As one might well expect in an East Asian commentarial work of this sort, each of these three categories is in turn distinguished into sub-categories for the purposes of hermeneutical analysis, with these sub-categories again branching out to as much as three or four further levels. The four main, top-level categories that are applied throughout are (1) the ascertainment of the distinguishing characteristics of the hindrances (within the given hermeneutic framework) (Ch. *ding zhangxiang*; K. *chŏng changsang* 定障相); (2) the explanation of the rationale for their naming (Ch. *shi zhangming*; K. *sŏk changmyŏng* 釋障名); (3) the clarification of the levels of practice at which they are eliminated (Ch. *ming duanchu*; K. *myŏng tanch'ŏ* 明斷處), and (4) the explanation of the counteractive measures (*pratipakṣa*; "antidotes") that are

13 T 1843: 44.188c4–9.

applied in the removal of specific types of hindrances (Ch. *duizhang biantuo*; K. *taejang pyŏnt'al* 對障辨脫).[14]

Even before we delve into the details of Huiyuan's two hindrances commentary there are a number of interesting points that present themselves, related to Huiyuan's distinctive interpretive approach, his historical situation, and his lineage affiliations. Most noticeable in Huiyuan's explication of the hindrances is a lack of any reference to what would become known as the orthodox Yogācāra scheme of the hindrances, as is found in the *YBh* and related texts. In other words, there is no trace of an explanation that clearly defines the afflictive hindrances as being derived from the cognitive hindrances, with the afflictive hindrances being grounded in the mistaken imputation of a person and the cognitive hindrances being derived from the mistaken imputation of phenomena (dharmas). Instead, Huiyuan develops his argument solely on the doctrine of the five entrenchments (Ch. *wuzhu*; K. *oju* 五住) as found in the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*, *Dilun* 地論, *Benye jing* 本業經, and so forth.

The five entrenchments as taught in these Tathāgatagarbha texts can be understood as five underlying bases from which manifestly active afflictions are generated – in other words, the latent aspects of the hindrances – comparable in connotation to such concepts as *bīja* (seeds) in Yogācāra. In texts such as the *Śrīmālā-sūtra* they are contrasted with active or "arisen" afflictions (Ch. *qi fannao*; K. *ki pŏnnoe* 起煩惱) – (usually expressed in Yogācāra as Ch. *chan*; K. *chŏn* 纏 or Ch. *xianxing*; K. *hyŏnhaeng* 現行). This teaching first starts with a basic set of four entrenchments (Ch. *si zhudi*; K. *sa chuji* 四住地). They are:

1. entrenchment of mistaken view in regard to all things in the three realms (Ch. *jian yiqie zhudi*; K. *kyŏn ilch'e chuji* 見一切住地) (also interpreted by Wŏnhyo as "entrenchment of seeing a single basis"),
2. entrenchment of attachment to objects in the desire realm (Ch. *yu ai zhudi*; K. *yogae chuji* 欲愛住地),
3. entrenchment of attachment to things in the form realm (Ch. *se ai zhudi*; K. *saegae chuji* 色愛住地),
4. entrenchment of attachment to objects in the formless realm (Ch. *you ai zhudi*; K. *yuae chuji* 有愛住地).

14 By comparison, Wŏnhyo's treatise on the hindrances is structured in six sections: (1) an explanation of their naming (*shi mingyi* 釋名義); (2) an explanation of their constitution and characteristics (*chu tixiang* 出體相); (3) an elaboration of their various functions (*bian gongneng* 辨功能); (4) an explanation of the rationales behind the various types of categorical arrangements of the hindrances (*she zhumen* 攝諸門); (5) an explanation of the antidotes and paths (*ming zhiduan* 明治斷); and (6) a final chapter that treats discrepancies in interpretation (*zong jueze* 惣決擇) between Mahāyāna/Hīnayāna paths, and between various Mahāyāna scriptures and commentators. We can see that there is much overlap between Huiyuan's and Wŏnhyo's categories, suggesting again, that Wŏnhyo may have picked up some hints from his predecessor, and then went a few steps further.

The fifth entrenchment is entrenched ignorance (*avidyā-vāsabhūmi*, Ch. *wuming zhudi*; *mumyŏng chuji* 無明住地), referring to ignorance in its latent aspect as something innate and deeply embedded in the consciousness, which is extremely difficult to remove, and which serves as the basis for the other four entrenchments, and thus as the basis for the production of afflictions. When entrenched ignorance is added as a separate entity to the previous four, they are spoken of as the five entrenchments (Ch. *wu zhudi*; K. *o chuji* 五住地).

If one reads this family of texts, one will find no reference to the Yogācāra terminology of treating the hindrances, such as references to attachment to self (Ch. *wozhi*; K. *ajip* 我執) and dharmas (Ch. *fazhi*; K. *pŏpchip* 法執), the production of the six primary and twenty secondary afflictions, etc. And conversely, the *YBh* and so forth never discuss the hindrances in terms of the five entrenchments. Thus, this topic in itself provides for an interesting study in the way that this form of soteriological discourse bifurcated between these two systems, considering that both are operating under some of the same basic paradigms, such as eight consciousness theory, perfumation, karmic maturation and so forth.

In Huiyuan's explanation, there is no hint whatsoever of the main components of the Yogācāra definition. It is quite possible that this absence can be attributed simply to the fact that the *YBh* and most of the other influential Yogācāra texts had not yet been carried back to China and translated by Xuanzang, and thus had not yet received summarial treatment by Xuanzang in the form of the *Cheng weishi lun* – all materials which were available to Wŏnhyo. We have to assume that that Bodhiruci's translation of the *Saṃdhinirmocana* was available to Huiyuan, but although the *Saṃdhinirmocana* does contain some discussion of the hindrances, the explanation of the hindrances in that text is not yet developed into what would become the standardly promulgated Yogācāra explanation, in terms of linking the cognitive and afflictive hindrances to the attachment to dharmas and attachment to self, respectively.

Returning to Huiyuan's three basic categories of the hindrances, the straightforward afflictive/cognitive distinction made in the first category makes it fairly clear that this approach can be pretty much correlated with the mainstream Yogācāra explanation, and thus, the "exoteric" classification laid out by Wŏnhyo.[15] As for the second category, Huiyuan directly tells us (but only after we've worked our way through his entire explanation) that this is the one that fits the *AMF*. Hence, this is the category that Wŏnhyo will later label as the "esoteric", mainly because it subsumes the prior category, showing awareness of a specific type of cognitive problem not treated in the first level – that of bodhisattvas lingering in meditative absorptions in suchness.

Interesting here is the third category, since it is one that, as far as I can tell, does not receive treatment from Wŏnhyo and is not readily extrapolated from any Yogā-

15 The explanation given to this category, found both in the *Śrīmālā-sūtra* and in Huiyuan's commentary locates the two-vehicle practitioners and the bodhisattvas in analogous positions to that found in the Yogācāra explanation, in terms of their ability to deal with the hindrances.

cāra or Tathāgatagarbha text that I have yet read.[16] This is the definition where all five of the entrenchments, plus original ignorance and inability to discriminate taught in the *AMF*, comprise the afflictive hindrances, with the cognitive hindrances consisting only of dependently-arisen wisdom. The stakes are again raised, it seems, to have it so that the cognitive hindrances are understood to be identified in their impedimentary effect with an even higher level of practice – even the correct wisdom exercised by advanced bodhisattvas. This is commensurate, nonetheless, with the basic view in the Tathāgatagarbha texts that any movement of the mind whatsoever is impedimentary to the perfect enlightenment of the Buddha. Huiyuan identifies it as a mode of the hindrances explained in the *Śrīmālā-sūtra* but the citation he gives to explain it in there doesn't seem to be in that text.[17]

What I have provided here is still little more than a basic introduction to the major issues presented in Huiyuan's explanation of the hindrances in the background of the much more thorough and detailed work done a century later by Wŏnhyo. As mentioned above, Huiyuan's explanation of the hindrances, is, even when only taken by itself, rich and sophisticated, taking into account a fairly exhaustive range of possible interpretations of the nuances of cognitive problems in their juxtaposition with the afflictive karmas that they enable and engender.

The relevance of Huiyuan's work for Wŏnhyo's later treatise is deep, and hence any truly exhaustive study of the *Yijangŭi* must begin with an adequate investigation of this portion of Huiyuan's commentary. On the other hand, once one has reached the point of sufficiently understanding both works, one cannot, I am sure, but come away with an even greater respect for Wŏnhyo's scholarship. Even within the area treated by Huiyuan, that of the relationship of the hindrances with the Tathāgatagarbha entrenchments, Wŏnhyo is far more thorough and painstaking, explaining in much more detail how the entrenchments are related to each other, the role they play in preserving afflictive tendencies and generating active disorders, and more precisely how they are related to the brief explanation of the hindrances delivered in the *AMF*. Beyond this, Wŏnhyo also conducts a "no-stone-left-unturned" study of hindrance theory in Yogācāra proper, throughout all of its regions of consciousness, and all of its paths of removal, and then even shows how the two systems match up to each other.

One significant new realization that I have arrived to through studying Huiyuan's treatment of the hindrances along with the additional Tathāgatagarbha texts that he cites, is in coming to see that my original understanding of the way hindrances doctrine originally developed was somewhat skewed. Due to earlier reliance on Yogā-

16 There is much hindrances-related scriptural literature that I have not yet read carefully, so my suspicion is that if I keep looking, I will eventually turn up a source for this interpretation.

17 I assume it must be derived from *some* text, but I haven't been able to locate it yet. Interestingly, it is a type of interpretation that can be seen in the much later Chinese apocryphon, the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經), which treats the most profound experience of enlightenment as cognitive hindrances, as long as they are attached to.

cāra-biased presentations in reference works and short classical summaries, I had come to understand hindrance theory as something that more or less started and developed to a level of fruition in Yogācāra, which was then later picked up and altered in Tathāgatagarbha. I now see it as being the case that the two lines of interpretation must have developed over a period of a couple of centuries pretty much in parallel, with some cross-fertilization, starting from a fairly early date.

In East Asia, the Tathāgatagarbha approach actually predominates at first (along with Tathāgatagarbha-influenced views of Yogācāra categories), with the competing Yogācāra explanation only taking hold after the publication of Xuanzang's translations. In discussions of the hindrances in East Asia subsequent to the demise of the Chinese Faxiang school, a somewhat blurred model becomes the norm in China and Korea. For example the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*'s scheme of the hindrances basically picks and chooses from aspects of both types of explanations, while placing de facto exclusive emphasis on the cognitive dimension to a degree not seen in either of the prior models. In eighteenth century Korea, when the monk Ch'oenul 最訥 (1717–1790) composed his *Sippon kyŏngnon ijang ch'esŏl* 十本經論二障體説 (*Explanation of the Two Hindrances through Ten Canonical Texts*),[18] nine of the ten texts selected are Tathāgatagarbha/*AMF*/Huayan works, with the only Faxiang source being the *Cheng weishi lun*, with no citations whatsoever from original Indian texts. Within the Hossō school in Japan, which maintained a distinct Faxiang doctrinal identity, the Xuanzang/Kuiji view of the hindrances became standardized based primarily on the almost exclusive influence of the *Cheng weishi lun* and Japanese derivative texts such as the *Kanjin kakumu shō* 觀心覺夢鈔.[19]

I have merely scratched the surface here in terms of showing both the internal dimensions and the characteristics of the interface of these two systems of the hindrances, leaving a rather large amount of territory yet to be explored. This further exploration, when carried out, holds great potential for the development of a far more nuanced understanding of the symbiotic nature of the doctrinal developments of the two streams that we currently label as Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha.

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BERNARD FAURE

KEGON AND DRAGONS: A MYTHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO HUAYAN DOCTRINE

A cursory glance at the abundant scholarly literature reveals that the Chinese Huayan, Korean Hwaŏm, and Japanese Kegon schools (whose names are different readings for the same Chinese characters, 華嚴) have been studied until today predominantly through the thought of a handful of patriarchs – essentially Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668), Fazang 法藏 (643–712), Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (635?–730), Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839), and Zongmi 宗密 (780–841) for China; Ŭisang 義湘 (625–702), Wŏnhyo 元曉, and Kyunyŏ 均如 (923–973) for Korea; Myōe 明惠 (alias Kōben, 1173–1232) and Gyōnen 凝然 (1240–1321) for Japan. Much less has been done about other aspects – historical, institutional, cultural – of the Huayan tradition. The predominantly philosophical approach taken so far is amply justified by the sheer complexity of Huayan scholasticism. However, I believe that this approach is not sufficient to explain the enduring cultural impact of Huayan in East Asia. I will therefore take here a different approach, as I have already done in the case of another major school of Buddhism, Chan/Sŏn/Zen, and also in the case of the Korean master Wŏnhyo.[1]

In the case of Chan, I tried to show the ideological underpinnings of the doctrine of sudden awakening, and emphasized its "rhetoric of immediacy." A similar ideological critique remains to be done in the case of Huayan. Clearly, notions such as the interpenetration of principle and phenomena (*lishi wu'ai* 理事無礙) lent themselves to ideological recuperation. It is no coincidence that Mahāvairocana, the cosmic Buddha of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經) was chosen as symbol of imperial centrality and cast into the monumental Buddha of Tōdaiji 東大寺 in Nara. The Hwaŏm doctrine played a similar role in Korean politics. More recently, the Kegon teaching was used in Japan by the so-called Kyoto school to support imperial ideology.[2] However, I will not attempt such an ideological critique here. I would like to focus instead on some cultural aspects of Huayan in Korea and Japan.

The philosophical teaching of Huayan was summarized in Ŭisang's famous *Diagram of the Dharmadhātu According to the One-vehicle of Huayan* (*Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkyedo* 華嚴一乘法界圖, known under its abbreviated title *Pŏpkyedo*, Ch. *Fajie*

1 Faure 1991, 1998.
2 Nishida 1990. See also Ishii Kōsei's contribution to this volume.

tu, J. *Hokkai zu*).[3] While the content of Ŭisang's poem is standard Huayan metaphysics, its diagrammatic format allegedly points to that which cannot be expressed by words, and more specifically, by analytic discourse.

The poem starts from the center of the diagram, and unfolds in four phases, forming four separate sections of the diagram, before finally returning to the center. The first and last characters, next to each other at the center, are said to show that "the seats of cause and effect each represent the true virtue and the function of the dharma-nature, and that dharma-nature is the Middle Path."[4] The first four lines are also believed to contain the gist of the poem:

> Since dharma-nature is perfect and interpenetrating, it is without any sign of duality.
> All dharmas are unmoving, and originally calm;
> No name, no form exist, all [distinctions] are abolished.
> It is known through the wisdom of awakening, not by any other level.[5]

According to the Sŏn master Chinul 知訥 (1158–1210), these lines explain not only the interpenetration of all phenomena (*shishi wu'ai* 事事無礙), but the very origin of that interpenetration.[6]

The diagram is said to have the form of a Chinese seal, and to represent the ocean-seal *samādhi* (*haiyin sanmei*, J. *kaiin zanmai* 海印三昧). In fact, the dynamic nature of the diagram calls to mind a Tantric *maṇḍala* with four assemblies, rather than a Chinese seal. In other words, the gaze of the reader or practitioner, starting from the center, follows the red thread between characters, in four successive centripetal and centrifugal movements, rather like the subsequent processes of emanation and reabsorption described (and instantiated) in *maṇḍala*s.

The name of the *samādhi* represented by the diagram already implies a reference to Indian mythology. As Ŭisang himself explains, when the god Indra fought against the Asuras, all the warriors were clearly reflected in the sea and they looked like the characters of a seal. Hence the name ocean-seal *samādhi*.[7]

For all the philosophical insights of Ŭisang's poem, its semantic content is not the only thing that matters here. Ŭisang himself alerts us to the fact that the Diagram is supposed to represent the three realms of matter, life, and of the ultimate wisdom that includes all dharmas. The white paper – pure potentiality – on which the poem is written is said to represent the realm of matter. The black characters, all different, represent the realm of life in its mind-boggling diversity. Finally, the red line that connects these characters represents the realm of the enlightened mind that links and

3 T 1887A.
4 Yi 1994: 82.
5 Yi 1994: 82–83 (slightly modified).
6 Chinul: *Pŏpchip pyŏrhaengnok choryŏ pyŏngip sagi*. Korean Buddhist Texts 4:759–760; quoted in Yi 1994.
7 Ibid., 718b. This brings to mind another similar seal, said to have been imprinted at the bottom of the sea of Japan by the Buddha Mahāvairocana (Dainichi 大日). See for instance *Shasekishū* 沙石集 1:1, trans. See Morrell 1985: 73.

encompasses all the multifarious facts of life. The enlightened mind is the one who sees the writing on the wall. The way in which this Diagram was allegedly produced should serve as a model for all the scholars who have to copyedit a manuscript. We are told that Ŭisang, on the advice of his master Zhiyan, put a first draft of his text twice into a fire, and that only 250 characters remained, with which he composed his poem.[8]

The diagrammatic form of Ŭisang's argument is certainly not, as YI Chi-kuan argues, a reflection of Ŭisang's incapacity to emulate his master's rhetorical flourishes.[9] To believe that resorting to diagrams is a sign of illiteracy reveals an unjustifiable prejudice in favor of writing. If that were the case, the Shingon master Kūkai 空海 (d. 735) as well, who obviously loved diagrams and *maṇḍala*s, should be characterized as a poor writer of Chinese. This is obviously not the case, and neither is it for Ŭisang.

Apart from its attempt to transcend the limits of the written word, Ŭisang's diagram, like other similar diagrams (I have in mind here texts such as Dōgen's 道元 *Jike kunketsu* 自家訓決 "*Rules for our School*", as found in the transmission documents or *kirigami* 切紙 of the Sōtō 曹洞 tradition), probably had a ritual function.[10] It seems that, in some cases at least, these diagrammatic texts also imply a kind of ritual choreography.

At any rate, a purely philosophical understanding of such works falls obviously short off the mark. This may serve here as a metaphor for the broader understanding of Huayan texts. We know for instance that the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, along with many other *sūtra*s, was renowned primarily for its apotropaic efficacy. Likewise, the masters who commented on these texts were famous above all for their thaumaturgic powers. As I have argued in the case of Wŏnhyo, their "life," as it developed in hagiographic literature, was another aspect – and perhaps the most important – of their "thought," and it is in large part what explains the enduring appeal of that "thought" – rather than its purely doctrinal or philosophical excellence.[11]

At the formal level at least, my argument will emulate Ŭisang's Diagram in its labyrinthine meanders. My central point, however, is that the appeal of Huayan in Korea and Japan, but probably also in China, had much to do with the mythological context of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and its commentaries. The images of the bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, in particular, have played a fundamental role in the devotion and the imagination of Huayan followers.[12] Another important figure is that of the youth Sudhana, in his vision quest throughout the Buddhist realms. The Kegon *maṇḍala*, representing the fifty-three scenes of Sudhana's pilgrimage as described in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, was the main object of worship in rituals performed in

8 Kyunyŏ: *Ilsŭng pŏpgyedo wŏnt'ong ki* 一乗法界圖圓通記, quoted in Yi 1994: 77.

9 Yi 1994: 87.

10 *Nichiiki Tōjō shitsunai tekiteki hiden mitsuhō kirigami* 日域洞上室内嫡々秘伝密法切紙. Sōtōshū zensho, shūi 曹洞宗全書、拾遺, ed. Sōtōshū zensho kankōkai, Tokyo: Sōtōshū shūmuchō, 1970, vol. 18: 498–499.

11 For more details, see Faure 1998.

12 Tanabe 1992.

medieval Japan.[13] This pilgrimage was also probably the model emulated by priests like Ŭisang and Myōe, in their desire to go in search of the Dharma in China and/or India. Inasmuch as this representation deconstructs itself, by pointing out that the end of the quest is contained in its beginning, it was also perhaps, as I will argue in the cases of Wŏnhyo and Myōe, a reason not to embark on a long and strenuous trip.

Sudhana's pilgrimage is a root-metaphor for Ŭisang's Diagram. As Ŭisang explains in his Pŏpgyedo ki: "One day someone fell asleep and dreamt that he was wandering about thirty places. When he awoke, he found that he was lying in the same position as he had started in, without changing. In this way, though we start from the first character "Dharma" [in the Diagram] and return to that same character, passing all others along the way, it is in the same position as if we had never moved at all."[14] This is not quite true, since – as any reader or traveler knows – any word or place is always understood through the context of those that preceded it.

In the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, Ŭisang and Wŏnhyo appear together to form a contrast.[15] The setting is the famous episode in which the two friends, having started on their journey to China, spend the night in a cave that, in the daylight, turns out to be a grave.[16] During the second night in that place, Wŏnhyo is assailed by demons, and realizes that they are the product of his own fear. He thus comes to realize the cardinal tenet of Huayan, namely, that the world is produced by our own mind. He draws the logical conclusion that there is no need to travel in search of the Law, and decides to return home. Ŭisang continues alone, and becomes a disciple of the Huayan master Zhiyan. Upon his return to Silla, he becomes the first patriarch of the Hwaŏm school, whereas Wŏnhyo remains unaffiliated with any particular school.

Perhaps the contrast between the two monks could best be described in the Chan terms of "sudden" and "gradual." Ŭisang's pilgrimage represents the gradual process of learning and awakening, whereas Wŏnhyo's realization that his mind is fundamentally enlightened represents the position of "sudden," that is "im-mediate" or "un-mediated" awakening.[17]

The contrast does not stop there, however. We are told that Ŭisang observed scrupulously the Buddhist precepts, in particular the precept regarding monastic celibacy; whereas Wŏnhyo was (in)famous for his dissolute behavior – frequenting taverns and brothels, and eventually begetting a son with a royal princess. However, this behavior was widely perceived as a trope for the ultimate freedom of the enlightened person. Paradoxically, the Japanese master Myōe seems to have been more attracted by Wŏnhyo's character than by Ŭisang's. Although it is not clear whether autobiographical parallels existed between Myōe, "the purest monk of Japan," and

13 Fontein 1967: 78–115, Tanaka 1979.
14 T 1887A: 45.730a; Yi 85–86.
15 T 2061: 50.731.
16 On these two masters, see Tanabe 1992: 131–135; and Girard 1990. On Ŭisang's biography, see Durt 1969: 411–422. On the epistolary relation between Ŭisang and Fazang, see Forte 2000.
17 On this paradigm, see Faure 1991.

the dissolute Wŏnhyo, clear doctrinal affinities can be found between some of Myōe's works and Wŏnhyo's *Yusim allak to* 遊心安樂道.[18] Admittedly, Myōe presented in his writings a rather cleaned-up image of Wŏnhyo, whom he called a "patriarch of the Kegon sect," while conveniently omitting the latter's frequentation of brothels. He merely states that it is "*as if* [Wŏnhyo] had forgotten propriety and the precepts."[19]

The sharp contrast created by the Buddhist historian Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001) in his *Song gaoseng zhuan* between the two biographies is obviously a literary device, and it should not be read as an objective description of reality. As all documents show, Ŭisang was also an advocate of the "sudden" approach, while Wŏnhyo seems to have advocated a rather conventional morality.[20] However, perceptions eventually have more weight than facts, and this contrast explains the fact that, in Japan, the two men's popularity as Kegon patriarchs eclipsed that of their Chinese predecessors.

However, I believe that another hagiographical element has played a fundamental role, not only to explain the two men's role in the Japanese Kegon school, but also in the cultural influence exerted by that school. It is the relation that these two figures entertained with dragons and with the dragon-palace. Even today, the first thing evoked by the word Kegon in the mind of the ordinary Japanese is not the abstruse philosophy of one of the nine schools of Nara Buddhism, but the famous Kegon waterfall near Chūzenji 中禅寺 Lake at Nikkō. This waterfall is usually associated in tourist guides with another nearby one, called Ryūzu no taki 竜頭の滝 (Waterfall of the Dragon Head). This association of Kegon with waterfalls and dragons, in "Japan, the land where dragons dwell" (*tatsu no sumu Nihon* 龍の棲む日本, the title of a recent popular book by the historian KURODA Hideo 黒田日出男), is, perhaps ironically, one of the enduring cultural tributes of Huayan in East Asia.[21]

Waterfalls are usually associated with dragons (or *nāga*s in the Buddhist context), owing to the belief that they often mark one of the entrances to the dragon-palace. The symbolism of the *nāga*s/dragons and the *nāga*-palace plays an important role in the legend of the Huayan school and of its founders. First, there is the belief that the *Avataṃsaka*, like other important *sūtra*s, was preserved in the *nāga*-palace. According to a widespread tradition, the patriarch Nāgārjuna, having gone to the nāga-palace, saw three versions of the *Avataṃsaka*.[22] In medieval Japan, but perhaps already in Tang China, the *nāga*-palace had become a metaphor for the storehouse-consciousness (Sanskrit: *ālayavijñāna*), the source and repository of all things.[23]

18 T 1965.
19 Tanabe 1992: 136.
20 Faure: *Essentials of Observance and Transgression According to the Book on the Bodhisattva Precepts*.
21 Kuroda 2003.
22 *Huayanjing zhuanji* 華嚴經傳記, T 2073.
23 See for instance *Keiran shūyōshū* 渓嵐拾葉集, T 2410: 624a, 772c, 863b; and Faure 1999: 278–283.

The *nāga*-palace reappears in Wŏnhyo's legend (a priest also known by the name "Yellow Dragon," from the name of his monastery, the Hwangnyong-sa 黄龍寺), in the circumstances surrounding his writing of a commentary on the *Jin'gang sanmei jing* 金剛三昧經. According to Robert Buswell, this apocryphal scripture was probably composed in Korea by Pŏmnang 法郎 (n.d.), a disciple of the fourth Chan patriarch Daoxin 道信 (580–651).[24] As the legend has it, the Korean queen was beset by an apparently incurable illness. Divination revealed that only drugs brought from overseas could cure her. An envoy was therefore sent to Tang China. On the way, the envoy was diverted to the dragon-palace, where he received a *sūtra* (the *Jin'gang sanmei jing*) that could heal the queen's illness. The dragon-king added that this *sūtra* should be the object of a commentary by Wŏnhyo. The latter, owing to his eccentricities, had been shunned by his colleagues and by the court, but now, with the dragon-king's support, he suddenly rose to prominence.[25]

The *Song gaoseng zhuan* adds a discussion to its biography of Wŏnhyo, in which it mentions other cases of scriptures hidden in (or revealed from) the *nāga*-palace. "The scriptures state that there is a seven-jewelled *stūpa* in the *nāga*-king's palace. All that all the buddhas have said and all of their profound teachings, such as the twelve-fold chain of causes and conditions, the *dhāraṇī*s and the *samādhi*s, are kept there in a seven-jeweled casket."[26]

It is also a dragon that stands behind the rise of his former companion Ŭisang to the rank of first patriarch of Hwaŏm. Here again, the legend is well known and I will simply give its outline. While in China, Ŭisang stays in the house of Buddhist lay persons, whose daughter, a young girl by the name of Shanmiao 善妙, falls in love with him. Ŭisang, intent on keeping his vows, "makes his heart like a stone," and resists the girl's advances. Better, he converts her. Later, when he returns to her town on his way back to Korea, she rejoices at the thought of seeing him again. Then she is stricken with grief when she hears that his boat has already set sail. Finally, she vows to become a dragon to escort him and protect him always. The scene where she throws herself into the sea and turns into a magnificent dragon that carries Ŭisang's boat on its back forms the climax of the Japanese illustrated scroll known as *Kegon engi emaki* 華嚴縁起絵巻 (*Illustrated Scroll on the Origins of Huayan/Kegon*).[27]

Upon returning to Korea, Ŭisang intends to take up residence in a monastery. However, he complains about the presence of monks of other schools (described as "heretics" in later documents). Shanmiao then turns into a huge rock that stands in mid-air above the monastery, frightening the "heretics" away.[28] Ŭisang eventually moves into the monastery, which he renames "Monastery of the Floating Rock." Ŭisang's teaching on the *Avataṃsaka* prospers from that moment onward.

24 Buswell 1989: 170–177.
25 *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T 2061: 50.730a–b29; and Buswell 1989: 44–46.
26 Ibid., 730b25–28.
27 On this scroll, see Brock 1988: 6–31. See also: *Kegon engi* 華厳縁起.
28 Note in passing the two aspects, ophidian and lithic, of Shanmiao.

This story exerted a great influence on Myōe, the so-called Restorer of Japanese Kegon. Scholars have discussed the role played by Myōe in the production of the *Kegon engi emaki*. While he may not have sponsored it initially, he did write a commentary on it, in which he pays close attention to the story of Shanmiao.

The motif of Shanmiao's transformation into a dragon made a particularly deep impression on Myōe. The latter was acutely aware of the fact that that motif, also found in the famous Dōjōji 道成寺 legend, could have a negative interpretation. In the Dōjōji legend, a young girl falls madly in love with a young monk who stays for a night in her house, on his way to Kumano 熊野. In order to resist her advances, the monk promises that he will visit her again when he returns from his pilgrimage. When she realizes that he has not kept his promise, she runs after him in anger and transforms into a huge snake while crossing a river. She finally catches up with him at Dōjōji, and, coiling around the temple bell under which he has taken refuge, she reduces him to ashes through the burning intensity of her hatred.[29]

The image of women turning into snakes because of jealousy or hatred was a medieval Japanese topos. Thus, when someone asks Myōe whether Shanmiao's turning into a dragon was not a mark of attachment, he insists that, in her case, things are quite different – because she had previously been converted to Buddhism, not only by Ŭisang in her present life, but already in a past life. Her love for Ŭisang, Myōe argues, was not an ordinary love that grew out of attachment, but a pure love that stemmed from a deep respect for the Dharma. This is, Myōe concludes, why she became a dragon, and not a monstrous snake like the protagonist of the Dōjōji legend.[30] On the surface, Myōe read the story of Shanmiao as an exemplum on moral causality, but at a deeper level, another scene is taking place, and Myōe himself was aware of it when he tried to establish a clear-cut distinction between snake and dragon – a distinction that does not reflect Japanese beliefs of the time. According to the *Jinten ainōshō* 塵添壒嚢抄, a medieval dictionary, dragon and snake are distinct, but the dragon is a former snake.[31] From the symbolic standpoint, however, the line of demarcation between them is often blurred. Medieval deities are fundamentally ambivalent, as shown for instance by the figure of the goddess Benzaiten 弁財天, who manifests herself as both a snake and a dragon.

In the case of Shanmiao as well, Myōe seems to have been at times more hesitant. In a dream he had in 1203, he sees a Chinese doll that turns into a tearful young woman. Moved, Myōe decides to take her under his protection. When he visits a monastery with her, someone accuses her of mating with snakes. Myōe argues that this is not the case, and that she merely happens to have a snake-body. He concludes that she is none other than Shanmiao (J. Zenmyō).[32]

29 On the Dōjōji legend, see Klein 1991.
30 On this question, see Brock 1990: 185–218.
31 *Jinten ainōshō*. See DNBZ 150.204.
32 On that dream, see Girard 1990: 145–146.

Shanmiao was so important for Myōe that he made her the main object of worship (*honzon* 本尊) of Zenmyōji 善妙寺 in Hiraoka 平岡, a nunnery that he founded as a refuge for women widowed by the Jōkyū Disturbance (Jōkyū no Ran 承久の乱) in 1221. This nunnery was a sub-temple of Myōe's Kōzanji 高山寺, near the Kiyotaki 清滝 River, an appropriate place for a dragon-deity. Significantly, owing to her role in protecting Ŭisang's monastery, Zenmyō was enshrined as a protecting deity "from Silla" (Korea), not from China.[33]

After Myōe's death, some of the nuns who had copied the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* on his behalf (the so-called *Nuns's Sūtra*, *Ama-gyō* 尼經) followed him in death by drowning themselves. One such case is that of the nun Myōtatsu 妙達, who jumped into the Kiyotaki River in 1232, six months after Myōe's death.[34] Tanabe has argued that, in doing so, Myōtatsu was following the example of Shanmiao, who sacrificed herself to protect Ŭisang. While there may be some truth in this, another explanation has to do with the belief in the *nāga*-palace and the legend of the Empress Kenreimon'in 建礼門院, as spread by the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語. According to this legend, when the Taira were defeated by the Minamoto at the battle of Dan-no-ura 壇ノ浦, the Nun of Second Rank, mother of Kiyomori, jumped into the waves with the child-emperor Antoku 安徳, telling him that they were going to the *nāga*-palace. Kenreimon'in jumped too, but was rescued by Minamoto warriors, and subsequently became a nun at Ōhara 大原, on the northern outskirts of Kyoto. When the Retired Emperor visited her there, she told him of a dream she had had, in which all the Taira had been reborn in the *nāga*-palace. The *Heike monogatari*, describing her saintly death, suggests that she has been reborn into the Pure Land, together with two ladies-in-waiting. However, it adds that these two ladies attained the *nāga*-girl's wisdom.[35] The enlightenment of the *nāga*-girl, as found in the *Lotus Sūtra*, was a powerful exemplum of women's liberation, and it merged with the motif of the *nāga*-palace.[36]

At any rate, the interest of Myōe for the spiritual salvation of women led him to emphasize the figure of Zenmyō as protector of both women and the Kegon teaching, and its relations with dragon-imagery. However, despite his attempt to present Zenmyō in a purely positive light, as a case of salvation through karmic causes, this imagery remains more ambivalent than he would like. The same is true of the *nāga*-palace, which is both a repository of the Dharma and a locus of fundamental ignorance. Likewise, its inhabitants are powerful deities, yet they remain subject to the "three fevers" (*sannetsu* 三熱), the fundamental sufferings that affect all sentient beings. They are protectors of the Dharma, but they can also be at times rather threatening to humans. According to non-dualistic theory of *hongaku* 本覚 ("fundamental awakening"), ignorance (*mumyō* 無明) is actually the source of awaken-

33 *Kōzanji engi* 高山寺縁起 (dated 1253). See DNBZ 117.
34 On this question, see Okuda 1997: 31–51; Faure 2003: 98.
35 McCullough 1988: 433–438.
36 Faure 2003: 91–98.

ing.[37] Therefore, the *nāga* realm does not simply belong to one of the six paths (*rokudō* 六道), but it is, as it were, the source and fountainhead of the entire Buddhist cosmos. Along the same line, we recall that the two dragon-kings Nanda and Upananda are coiled around the cosmic axis, Mount Sumeru. In similar fashion, maps of Japan at the time of Myōe showed a huge dragon coiled around the Japanese archipelago.[38]

The motif of the *nāga*-palace also played an important role in the promotion of "local knowledge" and the elevation of Japan to the status of sacred Buddhist land and of "country of the gods" (*shinkoku* 神国). The *nāga*-palace came to be perceived as a kind of underworld that was not located exclusively in (or below) India, but existed in (or below) Japan as well; indeed, it could be reached from the bottom of any waterfall or from any of the numerous "dragon-holes" (*ryūketsu* 龍穴) scattered all over Japan. It is no longer necessary to undertake a long journey to India to bring back Buddhist scriptures or relics of the Buddha: these may be found in the backyard of one's own monastery, provided there is a waterfall, a pond, or a dragon-hole there.

This revalorization of Japan as "land of the gods" calls to mind another episode in Myōe's life (or rather legend) that came to be connected with dragon imagery. During his visit to the Kasuga 春日 Shrine in Nara in 1203, he received from the Kasuga deity an oracle that told him to abandon his project of pilgrimage to India.[39] Significantly, the episode describes, in mythological terms, the same meaninglessness of the vision quest that Wŏnhyo had already emphasized. Through the mouth of a female shrine attendant (who happens to be a relative of Myōe), Kasuga Daimyōjin 春日大明神 reveals to him that the essential places of Indian Buddhist lore (the Eagle Peak, etc.) can be found here in Japan, at Kasuga. The name Kasuga Daimyōjin usually refers collectively to the five ancestral deities of the Fujiwara clan worshiped at Kasuga Shrine, but it also sometimes designates other deities that are seen as the "original ground" (*honji* 本地) or the "traces" (*suijaku* 垂迹) of the latter. In this particular instance, the god refers to himself as "this old man" (*okina* 翁), but he is also sometimes identified with the Dragon-King Nanda. It is a such that he appears to Myōe, together with the eight great dragons/*nāga*-kings that protect the Dharma, in the retelling of the legend by Zeami in his Nō play "Kasuga Ryūjin" 春日龍神 (The Dragon-God of Kasuga).[40] In it, the deity reveals its true form to a Myōe still intent on going to China and India, as well as the scenes of Buddha's life that he yearned to see: "Māyā's delivery of Śākyamuni,/ His Preaching the Law on Eagle Peak,/ His entering *nirvāṇa* beneath the dual teack trees –/ All are revealed in

37 This calls to mind Ŭisang's line, in his commentary on the Diagram: "From where does the inverted mind come?/ From ignorance that has no beginning./ From where does ignorance without beginning come?/ From the absolute./ Where is the absolute?/ In the dharma-nature of each person." *Hwaŏm ilsŭng popkyedo*, T 1887A: 45. 716a.

38 Kuroda 2003: 5–12, and Illustration 2.

39 Brock 2001: 49–113.

40 Morrell 1982: 179–200; 1987: 121.

their entirety./ Now then, Myōe Shōnin, about your plans to go to China?" To which Myōe, having finally reached Wŏnhyo's state of mind, replies: "I abandon them."[41]

According to Royall Tyler, the figure of the dragon here, instead of the traditional "old man" image of Kasuga Daimyōjin, stands simply as a generic image of the deity in Nō plays, and "says less about the Kasuga deity than about the conventions of Noh."[42] This may be so, but precisely it shows the prevalence of dragon symbolism in medieval imagination, and more specifically in Myōe's imagination. Not only the origins of the *Avataṃsaka*, but also the subsequent fate of the Huayan school in Korea and Japan were intimately connected with dragon-lore. As Frédéric Girard and George Tanabe have shown, the case of Myōe, whose teaching is nourished by a rich visionary imagery, provides a paradigmatic example of the mental world of medieval Buddhists.[43] Without that imagery, that is, without due attention to the concrete mythological aspects that constitute, together with the philosophical abstractions, the warp and woof of the Huayan teaching, one risks losing the red thread that connects doctrinal developments, not to mention the "oceanic feeling" in which practitioners like Ŭisang and Myōe immersed themselves.

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41 Other dragon-kings were believed to dwell in the Sarusawa Pond near Kasuga and in the dragon-palace under the Main Hall of Kōfukuji. See Tyler 1990: 124–126.

42 Tyler 1990: 143.

43 Girard 1990; Tanabe 1992. Another interesting case is that of the Zen master Keizan Jōkin 瑩山紹瑾 (1268–1325); Faure: 1996.

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FRÉDÉRIC GIRARD

SOME ASPECTS OF THE KEGON DOCTRINES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE KAMAKURA PERIOD

This article is a survey on some possible influences of the Kegon doctrines on the history of Buddhism, at the end of the Heian period (794–1185) and at the beginning of the Kamakura period (1185–1333). It will also take into consideration the constitution of patriarchal images of prominent monks like Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212), Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253) and so on. I will limit myself to raising some questions about historical and doctrinal problems.

An inquiry into the Kegon doctrines at the beginning of the Kamakura period offers a topic of much interest but also, I fear, of just as much difficulty. The Kegon school played a major role in Japanese religious history during a rather brief period, namely the Nara period of the eighth century. During the following centuries, its role as a sect was far from negligible – its Tōdaiji 東大寺 temple remained a key monastic center in Nara, with its ordination's platform – but it ceded to other sects its previous preeminence in the creation of new Buddhist doctrines and concepts.

Nevertheless, the post-Nara impact of the Kegon teachings on Japanese thought is a field of research that so far has received very little careful scholarly attention, thus we should refrain from making any hasty conclusions on this topic. Nonetheless, I will argue here that the influence of Kegon thought was more persistent and extensive in the Heian and early Kamakura periods than previous discussions of the development of Buddhist thought and doctrine in Japan have suggested.

In the Heian period, for instance, Kegon monks held discussions with learned monks of other temples, for instance the Kōfukuji 興福寺, the Enryakuji 延暦寺 or the Kōyasan 高野山, thereby revealing, in some documents of this period, the undercurrents in the evolution of Buddhist doctrinal tenets. The relative absence of distinctive Kegon features in such philosophical discussions should not disguise the real, if sometimes only implicit, influence of Kegon doctrines on the elaboration of new systems of thought. The cases of Saichō 最澄 (766–822) and Kūkai 空海 (774–835) are well known instances of such intellectual exchange. During their early education, they were imbued with Kegon thought, and the approach they followed in developing their own teachings was, to a great extent, indebted to Kegon influences. For example, Saichō began to pay attention to the fresh insights of Tendai doctrines,

while he was reading the works of the Chinese monk Fazang 法藏 (643–712) and practicing a form of *dhyāna* of the northern school close to Kegon.

Kegon doctrines were also introduced into the thought of the Tendai school by the Chinese Shanwai (*Sangai* 山外) current (mixing Tiantai and Huayan doctrines, "outside of the Mountain"), so that they were providing a permanent source of inspiration for the Tendai school. In contrast to other Buddhist sects of the Nara period, Kegon advocated the notion of a universal interpenetration and inter-relation of all sentient beings and of a salvation that could be extended to them due to the presence of Buddha-nature in all of them. This set of concepts (especially the idea of interpenetration) had, from the very beginning, been applied in the Nara period by the Kegon sect in order to stress the crucial role of the imperial household. This notion of universal salvation was, I suspect, intended to encompass all of the territory of Japan, so that all the elements in the country were interlinked under the person of the emperor at the top of a three-tier national hierarchy in descending order of the emperor, his administrators and his people. A problem remains: to which extent could this hierarchy have a correspondence with the twofold structure of the society enunciated by the administrative codes, distinguishing a good or noble people (*ryōmin* 良民) and the common people (*senmin* 賤民)? This scheme would seem to have been based on the three-tier Buddhist model of the Buddha, the bodhisattva and the sentient beings, which was presented in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* and its commentary by Fazang, the *Huayan jing tanxuanji* 華嚴經探玄記, and which Shinjō 審祥 (?–?) and his audience may well have encountered in their lectures given in 740: "That a Buddha, who is in a domain of self-fruition, shares the same domain with other Buddhas, may be compared to the fact that all the Buddhas as incarning the Law (in their so-called Dharma-body) have a common sustainment, for they have the same domain of the nature of things. In the same way, the Buddha and bodhisattva have in common the domain of communion with others which is partaken of Buddha and bodhisattva: so do the sovereign (*ō* 王) and his ministers (*shin* 臣) who possess in common the same country. The soiled domains are all, in turn, the manifestation of the acts done in common by sentient beings."

若自受用土佛與諸佛共有一土。 猶如法身諸佛共依故。 以是同法性土故。 若他受用土亦佛與菩薩之所共有。如王與臣共有一國。諸雜染土亦是有情共業所現故無別也。[1]

This notion also had implications for the more limited span of individual salvation, examined from both social and psychological perspectives.

This twofold conception of inter-relation and salvation seems to have played a vital function in Saichō's notion (akin to that of the Tendai sect) about the universal presence of the buddhahood in human nature. Likewise, Kūkai's conception of esoteric Buddhism was akin to that of the Kegon sect, as seen in his *Treatise on the Ten Stations of the Mind* (*Jūjūshinron* 十住心論). This is perhaps the reason why a Kegon scholar like Keiga 景雅 (1103–1185) said that this treatise of Kūkai was com-

1 T 1733: 35.159b29–c4.

posed under the influence of Kegon doctrines, while Hōnen 法然 (1148–1212) said it was inspired by the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*.[2]

In the Shingon school's conceptions of the attainment of the state of Buddha in one's own body or person (*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成佛), as explained in the treatise attributed to Kūkai, the inspiration from Kegon thought seems self-evident:

"The mind, the Buddha and the sentient beings are three. Nevertheless, these three are absolutely equal and one. Being one, they are infinite. Being infinite, they are one without any obstruction between them. This is the reason why we say that "the infinite jewel net of Indra is an epithet for this very body (*sokushin*)". It is a metaphor for the perfect fusion of the three mysteries without obstruction in the infinite atoms of the domains of all the Venerables". 重々帝網名即身，是則譬喩以明諸尊刹塵三密圓融無礙.[3]

But there was a big difference between the Buddha of Kegon, called Vairocana, who stayed silent in his intuition of the *bodhi*, and that of Shingon, called Mahāvairocana, who is said to have preached his experience of the "fruit", that is, of the *bodhi*, and therefore to have shared the fruit with others. In the case of Kūkai, the fact that his uncle played an important role as a superintendent of the construction of the Great Buddha of Nara (Zō Tōdaijishi 造東大寺司), was perhaps a determining factor in the rapprochement of the Shingon school, situated in both Tōji 東寺 and Kōyasan, with the clergy of Tōdaiji.

Now relating to Myōe's views, Myōe explains, in one of his sermons, the differences between the esoteric and the exoteric perspectives; in the esoteric ones, the body of the Law of Mahāvairocana cumulates the function of a body of self-fruition: "Concerning the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, the perfect illumination is the fundamental knowledge. Its only one object is the veridic principle and not the profane truth. The magical powers and the sustaining force (the "grace") (*kaji* 加持) are an acquired knowledge. In other words, the sustaining (gracious) body of the Buddha (*butsukajishin* 佛加持身) is a retributive body of self-fruition (*jijuyūhōjin* 自受用報身). In the exoteric schools, the body of self-fruition (*jijūyūshin* 自受用身) never exposes the Law to people. In the Shingon school, he exposes the Law and gives profits with the name of "gracious" body of the Buddha. What we call the preaching of the Law by the body of the Law in its self-nature (*jishō hosshin seppō* 自性法身說法) is this sustaining body of the Buddha. His residence is the palace of the world of the Law. This is the reason why it is considered as the one and same thing as the body of Law. This is also the reason why we call it the preaching of the Law by the body of the Law. This doctrine is not limited to the Shingon school but is also advocated in the exoteric teachings, like in the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* where the matter of predication has an indistinctive body of Law and retribution."[4]

2 Ishii Kyōdō 石井教道, *Shōwa shinshū Hōnen shōnin zenshū* 昭和新修法然上人全集, 1955: 728–729.

3 *Sokushin jōbutsugi* 即身成佛義, T 2428: 77.383c2–3.

4 *Shinmonshū* 眞聞集, volume II, MSS, III: 237.

Another way in which we can see the influence of Kegon thought concerns the interpretation of the world of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. The *sūtra* depicts it as the ocean of the embryo of the lotus flower, or as it may be also interpreted, the ocean of the womb of the lotus flower. This world was considered, from the time of the Emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇 (701–756) and the Empress Kōmyō 光明皇后 (701–760) and afterwards, as a Pure Land in which men may be born. This world in fact was viewed as being the same as that of Shingon's one and, in later times, this Kegon's idea of a world of Flower Ornament seems to have passed, to a certain extent, through the Amidist conception of the Pure Land, as an underlying and parallel theory of an ideal land. Thus, the doctrines of the Kegon school may have slid from the prominent place they occupied in Buddhist thought during the middle of the Nara period. But they were neither discarded nor disproven; they remained, if sometimes obscurely, in the intellectual assumptions and heritage of the most important Buddhist schools that emerged in the Heian and Kamakura Periods.

Yūzū nenbutsu

Before the emergence of the Pure Land faith of Hōnen as a quasi-independent movement and organization, the Pure Land belief during the Heian Period was a rather syncretic mixture of doctrines of other sectarian creeds. Thus it is not surprising to see that some forms of amidism were mixed with the Kegon doctrine of interdependence, or fusional interpenetration. The best-known case concerns the teachings of the Tendai monk Ryōnin 良忍 (1073–1132), a master famous for his liturgical singing and his disciplinary tenet on ordination rules called "perfect and sudden" (*endonkai* 圓頓戒). Ryōnin is worshipped as the founder of the Yūzū nenbutsu sect 融通念佛宗, the sect that called for the commemoration or invocation of Buddha [Amida] in a fusional interpenetrating way. His invocation of the Buddha was thus fused with other practices and came to encompass all the merits accrued by all the Amida invocations by all men, in an ongoing process of fusion that, when perfected, allows all men to be born in the Paradise of Amida. Although his writings have not survived, we can gain some insight into his thought by reading his posthumous account of his thought, the *Treatise on the Perfect Doctrine of Fusional Interpenetration* (*Yūzū enmonshō* 融通圓門章),[5] as well as his biography found in the *History of Buddhism of the Genkō Era* (*Genkō shakusho* 元亨釋書) (c.1322) by Kokan Shiren

5 T 2680: 84.1a–6a. This book, though it was composed very late, in 1703 by Daizū Yūkan 大通融觀 (1649–?), is not without documentary value, for it is one of the few sources giving a synthetic account of the doctrines of the Yūzū nenbutsu, based on a commentary of the stanzas of Amida by Ryōnin we quote on the next page. It refers especially to the *Yūzū nenbutsu hon.engi* and makes commentaries using in an equal proportion the doctrines of Tendai and Kegon, but especially the latter in reference to the doctrine of the Unique and authentic world of Law (*isshin hokkai* 一眞法界), which explains that there is no place in any of the possible worlds which is not the Pure Land.

虎關師錬 (1278–1346).[6] According to *Yūzū dainenbutsu hon.engi* 融通大念佛本縁起 (1314), which is the fundamental source of these two latter works, Ryōnin is said to have entered *samādhi*, when he was forty-six years old in 1117 (Eikyū 5), and to have seen an apparition of the Buddha Amida who told him the essentials of his teachings in the form of a stanza:

> One man is in all men, all men are in one man, one practice is in all practices and all practices are in one practice. This is what I call 'birth in the Land of bliss by "Other Power" (*ichinin issainin, issainin ichinin, ichigyō issaigyō, issaigyō ichigyō, zemyō tariki ōjō [kore tariki ōjō to nazuku]* 一人一切人、一切人一人、一行一切行、一切行一行、是名他力往生)

In response, Ryōnin is said to have composed this stanza:

> The commemoration of Buddha penetrating in fusion the ten worlds in one instant of thought has the meritorious qualities of ten thousand million commemorations perfectly achieved. (*jukkai ichinen no yūzū nenbutsu wa okuhyakumanben no kudoku enman* 十界一念、融通念佛、億百萬遍、功徳圓満).[7]

Although these two stanzas cannot be formally proven and explained by the doctrines of Kegon or by their combination with those of the Tendai sect-indeed, they may derive from a fictitious work of Genshin, the *Essentials on the Examination of the Mind* (*Kanjin ryakuyōshū* 觀心略要集),[8] – we cannot deny that their vocabulary and conceptions, such as "the one in the all, and the all in the one" and "penetration in fusion" are familiar in the Kegon texts. We can notice, in particular, the ideas that there is a coincidence between one individual person and one practice, all individual persons and all practices, and also that the "veritable aspect of all things" (*shinnyo* 眞如: "suchness"), as well as the non-duality of facts and principle, can explain the notions of "compenetration in fusioning" and "the presence of the decuple universe in one instant of thought". The same text has also this tenet: "The fusional commemoration of the Buddha asserts that the practice of one person is the practice of all persons and reciprocally, so that their merits are grandiose, and the birth in the Pure Land will arrive in the next life. If one person can be born in the Pure Land, it is without fail that all people will accomplish this birth."[9] The text goes on to say that belonging to this adapted teaching of the Buddha, all men will be saved, whether they may be good or bad, great saints or small saints, with profound or superficial spiritual faculties, they will arrive to the capital of the true aspect of things as the original enlightenment (*hongaku shinnyo no miyako* 本覺眞如の都).[10] The expression "Capital of the true aspect of the original enlightenment" is identical with the one Myōe uses in his work titled the *Signification of the Mind-only according to the Kegon*

6 DNBZ 101.271–272. Also *Honchō kōsōden*, see DNBZ 103.216–217.
7 *Yūzū dainenbutsu hon.engi* 融通大念佛本縁起, probably composed in 1314 by Goa Ryōchin 護阿良鎮 (?–?), a subdisciple of Ryōnin, copied in 1390, and edited in 1691. See *Zoku Tendai-shū zensho*, *Shiden* 2, *Nihon Tendai sōdenrui*, 1, 1988: 347.
8 Shimaji 1933: 195–196.
9 Ibid., 350b.
10 Ibid., 356a, 357a.

(*Kegon yuishingi* 華嚴唯心義) (1201). Here, he refutes the false doctrines of contemporary monks who, probably, belonged to the new schools of Nenbutsu,[11] monks who were probably identical with those criticised in his other works, the *Konjishishō kōkenshō* 金獅子章光顯鈔 (1210) and the *Zaijarin* 摧邪輪 (1212). We cannot close our eyes to the possibility of the influence, direct or indirect, of Kegon texts, for we do not find these words even as pregnant concepts in the *Essentials on the Examination of the Mind*, that the Tendai scholar Shimaji Daitō considered as an authentic work of Genshin. In fact this work, which was possibly composed by a master of Ekai 惠海 of the Anraku.in 安樂院 in the 5th month of 1077 (Shōryaku 1),[12] sometimes refers to the Kegon doctrines but mostly concerning its doctrine of "mind-only" (*yuishin*) as creative of the dream-like things.

While the *nenbutsu* of Ryōnin stressed the practical aspects and consisted of a verbal invocation of the Buddha Amida, its theoretical basis can be found in the Kegon concept of fusional compenetration. Can we not, in this instance, conclude that the Kegon doctrine of the interpenetration of all things lies behind these conceptions, at least when observed theoretically from a distance? The same thing may be said of doctrines, akin to the *Yūzū nenbutsu*'s ones, that we can find in another work attributed to Genshin but which, in fact, is manifestly posterior and, may have been written by Shingen 眞源 (1063–1130), a scholar of the Genshin lineage (Eshinryū 惠心流) at the Hieizan. This work is entitled: the *Dialogues on the Commemoration of the Buddha as a Practice for Oneself* (*Jigyō nenbutsu mondō* 自行念佛問答).[13] In this work, it is assumed that one instant of thought (of the commemoration of the Buddha) penetrates in the trichiliomegachiliocosme, that is the whole universe in space and time, as though, belonging to the real aspect of things (*shohō jissō* 諸法實相), there is an immediate adequation between the right and the false, the state of profane and the state of Buddha. It says in one passage that, according to "the signification of the perfect doctrine, one Buddha is all the Buddhas and all the Buddhas are one Buddha, one practice is all the practices and all the practices are one practice, one vow is all the vows and all the vows are one vow. That is the reason why the vow of one Buddha, as is Amida, is the vow of all the Buddhas." This quotation is a testimony that during the 12th century there existed a doctrine relating to the solidarity of the vows and the practices in all the Buddhas, by the means of the invocation of the *nenbutsu*, which is very akin to the *Yūzū nenbutsu*. Thus we cannot say that the doctrines attributed to Ryōnin are only an invention of latter ages.

In fact, the *Yūzū nenbutsu* conception of Ryōnin was partly inherited by Hōnen, and was also found in customary practices of the *Dainenbutsue* during medieval times. We have the example of the retired emperor Toba who, in 1124 (Tenchi 1),

11 See the suggestive article of ŌTAKE Susumu 1999.

12 Nishimura and Sueki 1992: 223.

13 Shingen is, together with Ryōga 良賀, a disciple of Gensan 嚴算; as he was a friend of Ryōga, who was the master of Ryōnin, we cannot consider the doctrinal affinities of the two monks as the product of a mere coincidence. See DNBZ 31.204a.

promoted the practice of *yūzū nenbutsu* throughout the country, with the Sumiyoshi's temple Shūrakuji (the Dainenbutsuji 大念佛寺) in Settsu as a center of practice. Here, monks recited the "fusional invocation Amida" (*yūzū nenbutsu*) with high voice during the Ōhara's controversy for three days and three nights in 1186 (Bunji 2). The famous disciple of Hōnen, Seikaku 聖覺 (1167–1235), the liturgist singer of Agui, practiced the "fusional invocation of the Buddha Amida" (*yūzū nenbutsu*) for one week in an offering for the third anniversary of the death of his master in 1215.[14] We have testimony that the mixture of the invocation of Amida with the *odori nenbutsu*, as practiced by Jishū's disciples for the accompaniment of dancing and loud musical performances, was firmly prohibited in 1413 (Ōei 20). However, a center is said to have been founded for the performance at the Kayadō 萱堂 by Shinji Kakushin 心地覺心 (1207–1298) and inherited by Ippen 一遍 (1239–1289): here a form of *nenbutsu* may have been mixed with Zen (*nenbutsu zanmai* 念佛三 昧) in religious practices on Mount Kōya.[15]

Myōe

May not this kind of practice explain discussions about the achievement of the state of Buddha by all human kind, even when it has been realized by just one individual? These discussions seem to us like mere abstractions similar to those concerning "the sex of the angels" during the European Middle Ages, seem abstract to us, but during the Heian and Kamakura periods, they were so seriously discussed that they must have been significant; but, if we cannot grasp their implications in the social history, perhaps the reason lies in our own lack of knowledge and researches in this field. Consider, for instance, a discussion about the elimination of human passions. Some believed it to be an individual question, while the Kegon school partly took it to be a collective one. In the first view, the extirpation of passions was a matter of concern for just one person, but, in the second view, it concerned all humankind, or more strictly speaking, all sentient beings. Starting with the laconic statement that "one cutting of passions involves all cuttings of passion," we can infer two possible interpretations, both of which are based on the conception of the interpenetration of all things, as resumed by Myōe 明恵 (1173–1232), for instance:

1. If in just one person there is a successful cutting of passions, all other passions are exhaustively eliminated in this person, since all phenomena, including passions, are inextricably related.

14 *Hōnen shōnin chokuden* 法然上人勅傳, the famous biography of Hōnen compiled on imperial order by Shunshō 舜昌 (1255–1335), in 48 volumes, one century after the death of his Master. See *Jōdoshū zensho* 浄土宗全書, XVI.

15 Gorai 1975: 233–238.

2. A radical application of this principle would hold that if one man eliminates one passion in himself, he cuts off not only all other passions in himself, but also all passions in all other men.

If we ask whether these tenets have any factual significance, we obviously can conclude that they do not, in our eyes, except if we consider the distant perspective of a universal salvation based on Mahāyānic compassion. The first interpretation is not evidence for the religious belief that if we cut off one delusion, we extirpate all delusions from ourselves, unless one accepts as valid the concept of sudden enlightement as advocated by some Zen masters, like those of the Darumashū, according to Myōe. It is true that these Zen masters were thought to advocate the "sudden teaching" which is generally considered as the closest to the "perfect teaching" of the Kegon, in the classifications of the Buddha's teachings according to the Kegon school. The second interpretation, condemned by Myōe, could have been assumed by followers of the Yūzū nenbutsu or akin to this current. In this case, if we consider that the universal salvation, which is implied in only one invocation of Amida by one person, is expected in the next birth and not in the present life.

Myōe discusses this question about the doctrine of the conditioned coproduction of things, according to Fazang's interpretation (in his *Treatise on the Five Teachings*),[16] and especially about its doctrine of perfect fusion of the six characteristics of things. This follows the famous principle enounced in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* that "when one conceives first the thought of enlightenment, at this very moment he realizes the correct enlightenment".[17] But Myōe notices that "the correlation between one cutting (of passions) and all cuttings means that when, in the obstacles of all the delusions, one suppresses one category of delusions, he suppresses the obstacles of all the delusions (of the same category). Moreover, the correlation between one realization and all the realizations means that when one realizes the virtues of one category of practice, he realizes the virtues of all the practices (of the same category)."[18] Myōe concludes his analysis, saying that the opinion of a "certain person" (*aru hito*) that we can extend the reasoning from one person to all people, is only an extrapolation of the principle expounded in the *Chapter on Nature-origination* of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra.* This says that when the Tathāgata realizes the state of Buddha, he sees in his body (var.: in his mind) all the sentient beings realizing tthe same state.[19] What refers to a "vision" of a principle cannot be extrapolated to a present reality. Can we consider that the adversaries of Myōe were believers of Nenbutsu who misunderstood the doctrine of the Yūzunenbutsu, that speaks of a universal salvation in the following birth, in the sense of a salvation in the present life, in conformity with the common sense of their times?

16 T 1866.
17 T 1881: 45.507c10–16.
18 DNBZ 13.188b–189a.
19 T 278: 9. 627a1–4, T 279: 10.275a19–21.

We can also notice that such discussions, like those on the sudden or gradual cutting of the delusions, were very earnest, during the Heian period among monks of Tendai. One of these discussions took place between Kan.en 觀圓 of the Miidera, a son of the second counsellor Fujiwara no Kanetaka 藤原兼隆, and Gonshō 嚴勝 of the Hieizan, the 11th month of 1101, at the palace of emperor Toba. The controversy was related to the *Sūtra of the Benevolent Kings*, the *Treatise on the Awakening of Faith* and the *Lotus Sūtra*. In conclusion, it says that "the diachronic cutting of passions was the tenet of the Minor Vehicle, while the simultaneous cutting of passions was established by the Tendai. There were a lot of similar discussions on this subject among Chinese and Japanese masters."[20]

We can find an allusion of discussions on the validity of one practice and one commemoration of the Buddha as determinant for the salvation in the *Recorded Sayings* attributed to Hōnen, but probably posterior to him.

"Question nine: When we speak of ten commemorations within the original vow and of one commemoration in the accomplishement (*hongan niwa jūnen jōju niwa ichinen* 本願には十念成就には一念), is its meaning valuable for the ordinary life or for the last moments of life? Answer: As I have said in the past years, in the Holy Way, when we cultivate in such a manner one practice (*ichigyō* 一行) in the ordinary life, one's faults immediately vanish, so that, afterwards, we speak of the realization of the state of Buddha, even though one does not perpetuate [this practice]. We also say that it is useful to tie an opportunity [to engage oneself in the salvation], and we teach it as a skilfull means of the Buddha. But it does not signify [a birth in the Pure land] in the next life. This is surely the ultimate teaching of the Flower Ornament (Kegon), the adepts of Dhyāna (*Zenmon* 禪門), [the practioners] of *mantra* (Shingon) or of the mental appeasement and examination (*Shikan* 止觀 = Tendai). The reason [of this kind of practice] is that, for the beings who are originally idle, after they have recitated one time the invocation, they install themselves in the conviction they will be born [in the Pure Land], even though they never recite it afterwards, and refrain themselves to recite it several times, which is regrettable. Ten commemorations have a meaning when we seal them in the form of the infinite. For those who have embraced the Buddha's invocation towards the end of their life, in the moment they will pass away, we teach the recitation of ten invocations if they cannot recite one hundred invocations. And we teach one invocation if they are unable to recite even ten invocations."[21]

20 It was recorded in the *Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧傳 compiled by Mangen Shiban 卍元師蛮 (1626–1710) in 1702, vol.11, DNBZ 102.185b–186b. Concerning the Kegon, we have the following sources: Zhiyan, *Kongmuzhang*, T 1870 : 45.562b (allusion); Fazang, *Huayan wujiaozhang*, T 1866: 45.492b–496a, 507c; *Huayan jing wenda*, T 1873: 45.600a–c; Myōe, *Konjishishō kōkenshō*, DNBZ 13.188b–195b; Gyōnen, *Kegon hokkai gikyō*, NST 15.287–290; Jōyo, *Kegon tekagami*, DNBZ 13.490b–493b; Tan.e, *Gokyōshō sanshaku*, 36, 26; Shōken, *Gokyōshō chōshō*, vol. 2. 160.

21 The *Shūi Kurodani shōnin gotōroku* 拾遺黒谷上人語燈録 was written by of Ryōe Dōkō 良恵道光 (1251/1243?–1330/1290?), in the second half of the 13th century, T 2611: 83.257b–c.

We can see that, even in the Nenbutsu school, the idea of one practice as sufficient to assure the salvation was criticized as an idle means which was asserted by schools like the Kegon, the Tendai, the Shingon or Zen. This text, dated to the end of the 13th century, is late but it may reflect an anterior situation prevalent throughout century. The question settled here is to combine, in doctrinal terms, the immediacy of the realization of the fruit, which is instantaneous and beyond the time, and the practices required to accomplish it within the time.

On one hand, Myōe, for instance, states that at the very moment one has conceived the faith, he is equal to the Buddha, so that it is without moving one thought he is equal to the Buddha.

"At the state of profane, from the very moment we have conceived the thought of the faith, we cultivate meritorious practices during innumerable eons and we accomplish the stages to be equal to all Buddhas, without moving even one thought. Why? Because the three dimensions of time (past, present, future) are without measured running."[22]

In other words he says that the all time is reduced to one instant of thought: "In front of the wisdom of emptiness of things (dharma), the three dimensions of the time are only one instant of thought."[23] The reason alleged is that, from the beginning, the thought of faith, when it is fulfilled, is associated with wisdom, the term of the career of the praticioner.

"The final thought [of the faith stage] is the term where the thought of faith is associated with the wisdom. It is not a question here of ten thousand eons or anything else. The faith of the one-vehicle constitues itself by according itself with these three things: the great vow, the great compassion and the great wisdom. The great wisdom penetrates the fruit of Buddha, the great compassion gives benefits to sentient beings and the great vow extends itself to the ten directions."[24]

This oneness of thought is, on one hand, an absence of delusive thought (conditioned thought) (*munen* 無念), and on the other hand a fusion with the principle and the nature of things: "A thought, that is one, is qualified of being perpetually without delusive thought. It is the oneness of the spatial fusion in conformity to the principle, or it is the oneness of the adequation to the nature of things."[25] This is the idea of Kegon that there is a fusion without obstruction between one instant [of thought] and the immesurable [three] eons in the bodhisattva's career (*nengō yūsoku* 念劫融即, *ichinen soku sangi* 一念即三祇, *ichinen fuge sangi* 一念不礙三祇).

But, on the other hand, Myōe insists on the need of gradual practice, against an irrealistic subitism:

"At the stage of the faith, we are strictly of the same flavour as the inconceivable Buddha's Law. The reason for this is that we hold it true that the individual sub-

22 *Kegon shinshūgi* 華嚴信種義 (1221), T 2330: 72.72a.
23 Ibid., 225b.
24 Ibid., 235a.
25 *Kegon shinshūgi monjūki* 華嚴信種義聞集記 (1226), II, 225.

stance is already empty. If we don't differ at all from a Buddha, the nature of things is enlightenment and is not different from ourselves. Consequently, we are not separated from it. As long as we have not cutted the faculties which bind us to the individuality, the covetousness and the aversion are weaker. This is the reason why we don't enjoy the object of our desire and don't hate the object of our aversion. In this very place, unestimable realizations are also manifested. If the things are so, the cutting [of passions] in the way is not over necessary, and the passions are all in themselves the enlightenment [...] The absence of ego and great self [the true self], being without limits, is the nature of all phenomena which have been emptied by the knowledge of the emptiness of things. We enter straight-out in the emptiness of the individual and of elements (dharma), as in the case of the evacuation of subtantiality of, for instance, this cloth. First of all, this cloth is linen-made. The sleeves are cotton-made (*kaiko*). My body is constitued by the blood and the flesh of my father and my mother. I am bound to my body, a mere temporary reunion of the four elements and of the five aggregates, which are associated by the action of good and bad acts done during my previous existences. The basis of my thought, which is bound, is the receptacle-consciousness of maturation. What binds is the mental (*manas*). What apprehends an object, by the combination of the sense-faculties, the objects and the consciousness, is the five sense-consciousnesses, and what distinguishes the good and the bad is the mental-consciousness. What knows the temporary thing constitued by a natural combination, has the name of knowledge of emptiness of individual. And what, from here, knows the non-substantiality of phenomena is the knowledge of emptinesss of phenomenon. To enter straight-out into the arcane [of this doctrine], without cultivating by ascending degrees [this understanding of things], is like constraining a baby to ingurgitate a solid aliment. First we give milk to a baby, and it is only when he grew up that we give him solid food. If we give a sardine to a hungry man, he will die. But, if he eats the sardine gradually, with diluted rice, for instance, he will live. To penetrate straight out in the depth [of the principle of things] is dangerous. It is in the dharmas without ego that we can, for the first time, find the true self. But if we do not treat of the absence of ego, which true self can be found?"[26].

It is a well-known fact that Myōe did not admit that the Kegon doctrine of the extension of the cutting of passions is only limited to one person, in relation to the same species (*jirui sōtai* 自類相對), and that it is only by induction from the principle that it was extended by the school to each others (*jita sōtai* 自他相對). However, he admitted this extension in the case of the realization of the state of Buddha, from the viewpoint of perfect fusion.

Finally, when we can consider the place and the role of Myōe vis-à-vis the development of Kegon doctrines at Tōdaiji in the Kamakura period, it is probably inaccurate to claim that Myōe championed a kind of heterodoxy opposed to the orthodoxy of the Kegon school as represented by the scholarship practiced at Tōdaiji. In fact,

26 *Daijō kishin ron honsho chōshūki* 大乘起信論本疏聴集記, DNBZ 92.449–450.

both of these intellectual currents inherited the tradition of Kegon scholarship. In the case of Myōe, his strong personality enabled him to develop new teachings, as he widely drew upon the wide diversity of ideas current at this time, in order to adapt his thoughts in response to the needs of his audience and lay followers. As a result, Myōe constructed quite an original system of thought and doctrine, that did not contradict the former Kegon tradition. Instead, he developed conceptual innovations that won the attention of his audience and, of course, the monks of Tōdaiji who did not share Myōe's preoccupations with the contemporary problems of Japan that was just emerging from the chaos of civil war. Perhaps unexpectedly, the Tōdaiji scholars continued to follow Myōe's example in settling religious problems. They adopted his positions or proved critical of them. Thus, as Shimaji Daitō pointed out, no direct discussions or controversies took place between Tōdaiji and Kōzanji; there were no controversies over ceremonies, similar to the *rongi*, no exchanges of opinions, and Tōdaiji did not exercise any real influence on Kōzanji.[27]

Dōgen

When we look for an influence of Kegon on some thinkers of the Kamakura period, the result is quite disappointing, but the question excites sometimes our curiosity. We can find, in the works of the lay follower of Shingon, Chidō 知道 (?–?), a grandnephew of Dōgen, who was a believer of Maitreya's paradise and influenced by the *nenbutsu*. In his works, we can find some scattered traces of his reading (direct or indirect) of Kegon literature, such as the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, apart from his knowledge of the Zen work, the *Gateless Gate* (*Wumenguan*), which was circulated in Kyoto in his time. According to him, when Sudhana entered into the treasory palace of Maitreya, he felt as if he entered into the heaven of Tuṣita.[28] His idea that his access to the Pure land of Maitreya is accomplished in one instant of thought (*ichinen* 一念), by only one thought of faith that plants a germ of realization of the state of Buddha – this is a point identical to Myōe's views. It allows to see the real aspect af all things which entirely pervades the world of the Law (*dharmadhātu*). This world is described as a state of original no-abode (*honmusho* 本無處) and of no-birth (*fushō* 不生) – it is a terminology coming from Zen –. But in fact, Chidō is very critical towards the approach of the "original enlightenment" (*hongaku*) in the Shigon sect of his time. In a manner similar to his great-uncle's, he thought that an effort was necessary in practices to get access to the buddhahood. This differed from the Shingon teaching according to which no practice and no enlightenment was required, because "it is without moving from the *saṃsāra* that we attain the *nirvāṇa*, and the providing of the three soiled acts of our profane state is in itself the three mysteries of the body of

27 Shimaji, Ibid., 394–395.
28 *Ten Causes of a Good Dream* (*Kōmu jūin* 好夢十因), quoted in Tanaka 1982: 272–273.

Law."[29] Though knowing some Flower Ornament literature, Chidō did not accept the idea of an effortless and universal salvation.

In the case of Dōgen, whose name itself comes from a quotation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, were are struck by the fact that Kegon seems to be quasi-omnipresent while even unidentifiable and unseizable through accurate sources. This was demonstrated by Kamata Shigeo's enquiry on this subject. Such is the case of the metaphor of the gemma which reflects the entire universe, or of the flower which contains the whole world in its recesses, or of the absolute space (not the physical one) which is identified with the *prajñā* and is the locus where all things can take place and act without any obstruction. This impression is perhaps due to the fact that these doctrines were present, not explicitely but chiefly as background and pregnant sources, in the *Logia* of the Chinese Zen masters that Dōgen read earnestly during his travel in China. This kind of Huayan background can be founded in the *Logia of Mazu* and partly in those of *Linji*. We can read some allusions to the pilgrimage of Sudhana and quotations of Li Tongxuan's *New Combined Treatise* in Linji's *Logia*.

Nevertheless, we can find some indirect allusions to the Kegon literature in Dōgen's works. He speaks of the manner in which Sudhana acquires a good medication, identified with the whole earth, by visiting the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī who is conceived as a good master.[30] He also quotes some words of the Chan master Nanyang Huizhong 南陽慧忠 (?–775). Huizhong discusses the realization of the state of Buddha by sentient and non-sentient beings and explains the prediction and the realization of buddhahood by sentient beings, using the comparison of a prince who becomes the sovereign of his territory. He says that "the domains of the ten directions are completely the body of the Buddha Vairocana." Vairocana is the favourite fundamental Buddha of the Zen schools, who occurs quite frequently in the sermons of Dōgen, as in the *Ocean-seal Samādhi* (*Kaiin zanmai*), which speaks of the Biru zōkai 毘盧藏海, the ocean of the embryo-matrix of Vairocana.[31]

In a stanza composed at Eiheiji, nine years after having moved to the province of Echizen, Dōgen evokes, from his small hermitage compared to this threefold world of transmigration, the impossible perception of the principle of the "no birth" of all things. He compared it with something that is neither material nor immaterial as the odour of a flower, which even with a "transcendantal eye", can only be perceived in the immediacy of the sense of smell:

> My thatched hermitage of three fathoms square [of this Threefold world] is completely in the freshness of the wind,
> My nose perceives by inquiring at first the perfume of the automnal chrysanthemum.
> With eyes of iron and pupils of copper, *Who* can perceive it distinctly?

29 Ibid., 266–267.

30 *Eihei kōroku* 永平廣録, I, n° 16 ; II, n° 169.

31 DZZ, I, p. 125. Girard 1997: 81. The same word is used by Dōgen in the meanig of ocean of the treasure of the Law (Vairocana being the incarnation of the Law), that is the « Buddhist Canon », *Eihei kōroku*, V, n° 362, DZZ (Kagamishima), III: 232; DZZ (Ōkubo), II : 87.

I have seen in Echizen nine times reduplicated *yang* [the ninth of the ninth month's festival of chrysanthemum]?

三間茅屋既風涼、鼻觀先參秋菊香、鐵眼銅睛誰辨別、越州九度見重陽[32]

Here, the play on numbers, especially on the "perfect number" nine and its sub-multiple three, is in occurrence evident. The multiplication and the division of this perfect number nine lets emerge the idea of the infinite, or, in terms common to Kegon and Dōgen, of the inexhaustible, so that Menzan, the commentatator of this stanza assures that the multiplication of the number nine is synonymous with the "principle of the gate of the ten infinite and inexhaustible mysteries of the Flower Ornament [Kegon]" (華嚴の重々無盡 の十玄門の道理).[33] Though this interpretation is posteriorous to Dōgen, Menzan adopted it, maybe, because in this passage and other passages, the influence of Kegon doctrines was naturally suggested, not only in the vocabulary, but also in the dominant tone of writings of Dōgen.

In the collection of *kōan* named the *Three Hundred Cases of the Treasury of the Vision of the True Law* (*Shōbōgenzō sanbyakusoku* 正法眼藏三百則), Dōgen also quotes the words of the national master Qi'an 齊安國師 (755–817) stating that the fourfold realm of the Law (*dharmadhātu*), which is based on the *Flower Ornament Sūtra* is not measurable nor apprehendable by the intelligence, as is done in the demon's cave (in the abode of death), but has to be seen immediately, which seems to signify that it is inexhaustible.[34] So we may infer that Dōgen was probably also critical towards the conception of four *dharmadhātu*s, as a mere scholastic one.

In a sermon adressed to his disciple Ejō 懷奘 (1198–1280), who asked how he had to exercise in the monastery, Dōgen said that he had to sit only, constantly, in a pavillion at the foot of a tower-mirador, without mingling nor speaking with other people, but always remaining "like a deaf and a dumb." This may be an allusion, slightly transformed and incurved, to the well-known phrase of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* relating the state of the common beings listening to the Buddha preaching about his inner enlightenment incomprehensible for us. But, in the case of Dōgen, this state of idiocy, which he describes as the wise ignorance of worldly affairs for someone who wants to become an accomplished man, may be interpreted as a supreme state of quiet understanding of the truth.[35]

32 *Eihei kōroku*, X, personal stanza n° 108, version of Manzan ; DZZ (Kagamishima), IV: 291; DZZ, II (Ōkubo): 199; Kikuchi Ryōichi, 2000: 728–729. The stanza can be dated to the ninth of the ninth month of 1252. The version of the Eiheiji says :
"My thatched hermitage of three fathoms square is plunged in freshness,
My nose cannot be duped by the perfume of the automnal chrysanthemum.
How my eyes of iron and my pupils of copper could be tottering [they cannot hesitate] ?
I have seen in Echizen nine times reduplicated *yang* [the ninth of the ninth month's festival of chrysanthemum]? "
三間茅屋足清涼、鼻觀難瞞秋菊香、鐵眼銅睛何潦倒、越州九度見重陽

33 *Tōjō kuchūgen* 句中玄, n° 148, Murakami, 1995: 191–192.

34 *Shōbōgenzō sanbyakusoku* 正法眼藏三百則, III, n° 24, DZZ (Ōkubo), II, pp. 241–242.

35 *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki* 正法眼藏隨聞記, VI–13, VI-20, DZZ (Ōkubo), II, pp. 485, 490.

In a sermon preached at Fukakusa, in 1242, Dōgen examines the generic *samādhi* of the Flower Ornament, the ocean-seal *samādhi* (*kaiin zanmai*). His quasi-contemporary Myōe, in a sermon of 1226, considered this generic *samādhi* as the source of all activities, not only all of the *samādhi*s, as states of meditation and practices, but also as the foundation of the social activities. However, in reality, it was for him an effective state of meditation at the light of which all things had to be seen. In his sermon, Dōgen, faithful to what may be called his "phenomenism" and his "abstractionism," states that this *samādhi* cannot be defined as a peculiar state of meditation adequate to the truth. It is the recognition and discovery of the things as they are, so that we have to return to this *samādhi* as at the source of the mind and of our original nature. While criticizing the conception of "returnig to the source," which is peculiar to the Kegon philosophy, and which Myōe uses, Dōgen seems to attack conceptions that were prevalent in his time. Nevertheless, we are unable to point out exactly the opponents he disparaged, but probably it was not Myōe for whom this "return to the source" was not a definitive one, as – he included social activities in this *samādhi*. Dōgen rather attacked doctrines held, for instance, by the Hieizan or Tōdaiji's monks or, adepts of the Darumashū.

We can see, to a certain extant, Dōgen's aknowledgement of the Kegon doctrines by indirect sources; he seems to accept them as a tacit foundation of his worldview, but he disagreed with Kegon as a doctrinal system, perhaps due to the contemporaneous Buddhist followers he knew in Japan or in China.

It is worthy to notice, we think, that the stanza on the "bell in the wind" (*fūrinju* 風鈴頌), composed by the Chinese master of Dōgen, Rujing 如淨 (1162–1228), was considered as very important for the two men. This contained the quintessence of their philosophy combining the conception of an absolute space, the preaching of non-sentient beings with the highest understanding of the *prajñā*.[36] This stanza was transmitted, under rather strange circumstances, among the practicioners of vocal invocation of Amida, in the current originally issued from Kūya and continued by Kūamidabutsu 空阿彌陀佛 (1155–1228), a current close to that of the *odori nenbutsu* and the *yūzū nenbutsu*.[37] This rather odd filiation, which seems at the first glance quite inexplicable, might not be understood by affinities lying in a latent infiltration of Kegon thought?

Conclusion

During the Kamakura period, the Kegon doctrine played a quite subterranean role in some currents of Buddhism and was still alive in some original figures of this age. Its role as a state ideology was not absent, as it is the case in the Tōdaiji monks, and

36 See the dialogue n° 32 of the *Hōkyōki* 寶慶記. See DZZ (Ōkubo), II, 385.

37 It appears in the *Myōgi shingyōshu* 明義進行集, composed by Shinzui 信瑞 (?–1279) circa 1270, and copied in 1282 by Eban 恵鑁. See *Myōgi shingyōshū*, 2001:136.

even of Myōe who was rather marginal in his epoch. However, this role is not as influential as used to be in the Nara period when, for other doctrinal systems could assume this function.

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ISHII KŌSEI

KEGON PHILOSOPHY AND NATIONALISM IN MODERN JAPAN

It is often said that Kegon philosophy was used as a doctrinal justification for the planning of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere and Japan's militaristic activities. This assessment probably derives from the fact that in roundtable discussions published in *Chūōkōron* 中央公論 immediately after the start of the Japan–US War and henceforth, Kyoto school scholars such as Kōyama Iwao 高山岩男 (1905–1993) and Nishitani Keiji 西谷啓治 (1900–1990) justified Japan's aggressive behavior through a combination of Hegel's philosophy of history, Ranke's historical view, and Kegon philosophy.[1] These scholars in turn had a serious impact on intellectuals and university students. In fact, however, even though they were philosophers having nationalistic leanings, they cooperated with some elements in the Navy who were against war party in the Army. They had received information that Japanese military activities in China were in fact a war of aggression with little likelihood of resolution, and were aware of the fact that if Japan waged war against the United States, Japan would have no chance of winning. While they justified Japanese military activities in China as a war to liberate Asian colonies, they also tried to lead the Japanese war effort in a more moral direction and to avoid the expansion of the war aimed for by the Army and militarists.[2] Consequently, they insisted that Japan should lead world history by integrating Asian countries in a way that was different from Western colonialism, and by resisting Western powers from the position of representative of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. They argued that Kegon philosophy, which spelled out the relationship between "individual" and "whole" or "absolute," could serve as a theoretical underpinning for such a new world order.[3] However, they were criticized by the Army and rightwing extremists, and their activities were gradually limited. In the end, their only accomplishment was to adorn the Japanese war with philosophical language.

Shortly before the rise of the Kyoto school, the Japanese Buddhist community and Buddhist academic community had linked Kegon philosophy with nationalism.

1 Horio 1994.
2 Ōhashi 2001.
3 Ishii 2000a.

In order to protect Buddhism from Shintō chauvinists, who regarded Buddhism as an alien idea and tried to eliminate it, they emphasized the fact that the imperial family had been worshipping Buddhism for a long time and that Buddhism had been the national religion in Japan from the very beginning; thus it was fully integrated into the state. They put great emphasis on the fact that Prince Shōtoku (574–622) propagated Buddhism in Japan. Taking as examples Emperor Shōmu's 聖武 (r. 724–49) achievements in establishing the Great Buddha in Tōdaiji Temple 東大寺 and setting up provincial monasteries (*kokubunji* 国分寺), they emphasized that the worship of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* was the basis of Emperor Shōmu's faith. From the mid-1930s, Kegon philosophy was often used to explain the relationship between individuals and the state under an authoritarian regime.[4] This kind of use by the Kyoto school was just one example.

However, the most extreme nationalistic groups that propelled Japan to war in the early Shōwa period were in the lineage of state Shintō, the Nichiren sect, the Jōdoshin sect, the Zen sect, and other sects. For example, the National Pillar Society (*Kokuchūkai* 国柱会), which was organized by TANAKA Chigaku 田中智学 (1861–1939) and which had a great influence on military personnel, consisted of group of people who followed Nichiren and the *Lotus Sūtra*. The Japan Principle Society (*Genri nippon sha* 原理日本社), which criticized professors who showed a liberal political orientation and had them expelled from their universities one after another, was a group of *waka* 和歌 (Japanese short poem) poets who followed Shinran.[5] No private religious group existed that actually believed in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and developed a radical political movement. Kegon philosophy was probably too theoretically abstruse to serve as a guideline for activists. This situations stands in sharp contrast to the case of Chinese intellectuals, such as KANG Youwei 康有爲 (1858–1927), TAN Sitong 譚嗣同 (1866–1898), and ZHANG Taiyan 章太炎 (1868–1936), who made the best use of Huayan philosophy and the mind-only philosophy to aim at social reform and revolution.

The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and the State in Japan

When the "Eye-Opening" ceremony was held at Tōdaiji Temple in 752, Bodhisena (*Bodaisenna* 菩提仙那), an Indian monk, and Daoxuan 道璿, a Chinese monk, conducted the ceremony accompanied by Chinese, Indochinese, and Korean music. The Imperial Court needed the appearance of having all the Asian nations willingly participating in the Japanese emperor's Buddhist ceremony. It was not merely a coincidence that the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere was justified later by Kegon philosophy. Study of the doctrines of the Kegon school flourished afterwards, centered at Tōdaiji Temple. However, unlike the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Diamond Sūtra*,

4 Ichikawa 1975: 222.
5 Ishii 2002a.

laymen seldom transcribed the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* for the merits of their ancestors. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* was probably considered to be the national sacred text worshipped by Emperor Shōmu, and was not an object of worship among ordinary people. This is quite different from the situation in China and Korea.

It is often said that Fazang's 法藏 (643–712) Kegon (Ch. Huayan) philosophy became the guiding force of the social ideology during the reign of Empress Wu 武 (624–705). However, this was just a hypothesis of the late Prof. KAMATA Shigeo 鎌田茂雄. Kamata criticized the Kyoto school and TAKAKUSU Junjirō 高楠順次郎, who utilized Kegon philosophy to justify the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere and totalitarianism, and supposed that the same thing held true in the Tang dynasty.[6] It is true that Fazang and Empress Wu took the best advantage of each other, but Fazang was in the lower ranks of the monastic hierarchy and other famous monks were far more respected than he was.

The Kegon School in various temples in Nara, such as in Tōdaiji Temple, was a public school for the purpose of studying Kegon philosophy. In the Tōdaiji Temple Kegon school in the Kamakura period, Gyōnen 凝然 (1240–1321), a great scholar monk, composed numerous texts on Kegon philosophy as well as many books surveying the histories and doctrines of various Buddhist schools, including Kegon. In the Edo period (1600–1867), Gyōnen's works, such as the *Essence of Eight Schools* (*Hasshū kōyō* 八宗綱要), were used as standard introductory texts for Buddhism. Moreover, many schools of Buddhism studied Kegon philosophy to gain basic Buddhist doctrinal knowledge. Among these sects, Jōdoshin Sect and Shingon Sect were particularly keen on studying Kegon philosophy, because their originators greatly esteemed the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and Kegon philosophy. Hōtan 鳳潭 (1654–1738), an Edo period reviver of the Kegon School, often held heated discussions with the scholar monks of other sects. As a result, despite the fact that many scholar monks developed detailed philological and historical studies, the Kegon studies at Tōdaiji Temple remained on the wane. Moreover, because, unlike other sects, Tōdaiji Temple did not have an enormous number of believers, its influence further waned after the Meiji Restoration. In 1872, when the Meiji Government ordered each temple to clarify to which sect it belonged, Tōdaiji Temple was forced to be managed under the Jōdo (Pure Land) sect. It was only in 1886 that Tōdaiji Temple regained independence as the head temple of the Kegon School.

Kametani Seikei's Revival of Kegon Philosophy

In this situation, it was KAMETANI Seikei 亀谷聖馨 (1858–1930) who approached Kegon philosophy from a modern perspective, regarding the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* as the supreme Buddhist scripture.[7] Kametani, who served as a secretary to a national-

6 Kamata 1960.
7 Ishii 2002b.

istic politician, moved to Tōdaiji Temple in his mid-thirties and devoted himself to the research of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. Then, working as a newspaper writer and an educator, Kametani wrote a number of books on the history and doctrines of the Kegon school. Comparing Kegon philosophy with that of Kant and Hegel, Kametani insisted that the philosophy of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* was the most profound, and that all Western philosophies could be subsumed within it.[8] He also tried to demonstrate that Kegon philosophy was not incompatible with Einstein's Theory of Relativity.[9] Kametani, who respected and followed Emperor Meiji's *Imperial Rescript on Education*, argued that it reflected Kegon philosophy. Moreover, believing in the Sun Goddess Amaterasu – held to be the Imperial ancestor – to be equivalent to Vairocana Buddha in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, Kametani tried to link Kegon philosophy with *kokutai* 国体 or National Polity of Japan.[10] Intellectuals and students read Kametani's works written from this perspective to a certain extent, and they seemed to stimulate interest in Kegon philosophy.

While Kametani was an old-style patriotic Buddhist who respected the Imperial family and emphasized loyalty and filial piety, he recognized the merits of Christianity. He was also a pacifist who did not cease to have positive hopes for results from the activities of the International Peace Conference and so on. However, he regarded Japan's war as a kind of holy war for peace. The combination of Prince Shōtoku, Emperor Shōmu, and the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* that Kametani worshiped was simply a combination that the Buddhist community used as a vindication against attacks on Buddhism by extreme nationalists in the decade starting from the mid-1930s.

Kihira Tadayoshi's Nationalistic Kegon Philosophy

Kametani was on good terms with INOUE Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎 (1855–1944), a famous nationalistic philosopher who wrote an officially recognized commentary on the *Imperial Rescript on Education*. KIHIRA Tadayoshi 紀平正美 (1874–1949), a student of Inoue, who helped Hegelian philosophy to get firmly accepted in Japan, became familiar with Buddhist philosophy in his youth and wrote books on Chinese Zen, Shinran, and Dōgen. Kihira particularly respected Prince Shōtoku's *Seventeen Article Constitution*, Kegon philosophy, and Shinran's philosophy. One feature of Kihira's interpretation of Buddhism is its thorough linkage with nationalism.[11] While Kihira evaluates Kegon philosophy as superior to Hegelian philosophy, he was cautious about its doctrine of "non-obstruction between distinct phenomena." This is because if the doctrine were applied to the situation in Japan, the common

8 Kametani 1923.
9 Kametani 1922.
10 Kametani 1912.
11 Ishii 2000b.

people and the emperor would be seen as equals because they have unlimited virtues in common. This kind of thinking also has affinities with Western democracy. Therefore Kihira emphasized that the ancestors of the Imperial family were the fundamental source of all virtues. He identified this situation with the doctrine of "dependent co-arising from the *tathāgatagarbha*" which argued that everything comes out of *tathāgatagarbha*. As the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* included these doctrines, he believed that Japan stood in the middle between the doctrine of "non-obstruction between distinct phenomena" and the doctrine of "dependent co-arising from the *tathāgatagarbha*." In other words, each person was different according to his occupation and societal status, but everyone was equal under the absolute Emperor, and he argued that the Great Buddha in Tōjdaiji Temple represented this idea.[12]

Like Inoue, Kihira had a close relationship with the Ministry of Education from early on.[13] When the Ministry of Education established the Institute of National Spiritual Culture (*Kokumin seishin bunka kenkyūjo* 国民精神文化研究所) in 1932 for the purpose of study and teaching of nationalism, Kihira became quite active as the head of its thought division. The Ministry of Education made a nationalistic pamphlet entitled *Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan* (*Kokutai no hongi* 国体の本義), primarily written by the institute's members, which was distributed to schools all over Japan. Its central theme utilized Kihira's argument.[14] As soon as *Cardinal Principles* was published, Kihira published its manual via the Ministry of Education. Arguing that "*wa* 和 (harmony)" advocated by Prince Shōtoku was not mere pacifism but "*daiwa* 大和 (great harmony)" that could include resorting to military force, Kihira justified the application of force for peace.[15] Putting Kegon philosophy into practice, Kihira believed that this "*daiwa*" was the amalgamation of equal individuals and the absolute state, which was a special feature of Japan. However, because Kihira was cautious about the socialist movement in Japan and argued for the harmony of a variety of people while completely ignoring Asian nations, he did not pay any attention to the problem of rationalizing Japanese rule over Asian nations through Kegon philosophy.

Tsuchida Kyōson's Liberal Interpretation of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*

Kihira was cautious about Kegon philosophy, aware that the philosophy contained a principle of equality that could be used to deny monarchy. It is possible that Kihira had taken into account the opinions of TSUCHIDA Kyōson 土田杏村 (1891–1934). Tsuchida entered the Kyoto University department of philosophy, where he studied phenomenology under NISHIDA Kitarō 西田幾多郎 (1870–1945). He subsequently

12 Kihira 1930: 117–118.
13 Kihira 1932.
14 Ajisaka 1991.
15 Kihira 1938.

chose a career not as a university professor, but as a freelance critic. In his *Philosophy of Symbols* (*Shochō no tetsugaku* 象徴の哲学) published in 1919, he criticized the notion that an entity has various attributes, and tried to develop his own epistemology using Kegon philosophy. In 1921, he published the *Short Essays on the Kegon Philosophy* (*Kegon tetsugaku shōronkō* 華厳哲学小論攷) that dealt with the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and the *Awakening Faith in Mahāyāna*. In this book, he argued that Buddhist philosophy should not be a merely passive theology, declaring that any principle to reform society should be based on the philosophy of the doctrine of "non-obstruction of distinct-phenomena" of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. In other words, considering the idea of private ownership as the source of various social problems, he aimed at formulating a liberal social system free from such attachments. Tsuchida highly evaluated Kegon philosophy as a theory to articulate this kind of social system. He published his own journal entitled *Culture*, introducing philosophies and social conditions of Western Europe, including communism and anarchism, but opposing dogmatic Marxism. He also cooperated with the Free University of Shinano 信濃, which was a small learning society run by young people, considering this system as a model of liberal and democratic society. Consequently, academic scholars, the thought police, and Marxists regarded him as heretical philosopher, a dangerous activist spreading socialism, or a reactionary fascist.[16]

In this way, Tsuchida was a philosopher who respected liberty and equality, and used Kegon philosophy to inform his personal thinking and lifestyle. However, in his later years, he made an argument that came close to state socialism.[17] As he insisted on the necessity of a national agency that would implement equitable policies to fill the gap between rich and poor, his arguments ended up becoming even closer to state socialism. He died at the age of 43 before the onset of World War II, but if he had lived for ten more years, we can imagine that his arguments would have moved even closer to state socialism with the rise of nationalism in Japanese society.

Nationalistic Interpretation of Kegon Philosophy in the Buddhist Community and the Buddhist Academic Community

TAKAKUSU Junjirō (1866–1949), a major figure within the Buddhist academic community and well-known as the editor of the *Taishō Tripitaka*, gave a lecture entitled "Buddhist Totalitarian Principle" at a meeting sponsored by the Ministry of Education six months after the publication of *Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan*. This lecture was published by the Ministry of Education in the following year.[18] He argued that Japan had been totalitarian since the foundation of the coun-

16 Ueki 1971: 360–361.
17 Yamaguchi 2004.
18 Takakusu 1938.

try, taking Tōdaiji Temple and its provincial monasteries as prime examples. He articulated the specific totalitarianism in Japan through Kegon philosophy, and insisted that the Japanese people should devote themselves to the country under such a national system. Since Takakusu, like Kihira, belonged to the Institute of National Spiritual Culture and participated in the editing of *Cardinal Principles*, Kihira probably had an influence on Takakusu. Takakusu from the beginning respected liberty and peace. He made efforts to promote international exchange programs, and devoted himself to educating women, but he was strongly cautious about the growth of Christianity from his youth and this attitude became stronger with age. When he was young, Takakusu became deeply involved with Anagarika Dharmapala (1864–1933), a Sinhalese nationalist fighting for the revival of Buddhism and independence of Ceylon. In his third visit to Japan in 1902, Dharmapala had a long discussion with TANAKA Chigaku, a representative of modern Japanese nationalistic Buddhists, and they had a strong impact on each other. Based on an ancient legend reported by Dharmapala, Tanaka began to argue that Emperor Jinmu came from India and the Imperial Family was descended from Chakravarti-rājas or Śākya clan. He claimed that Japan should morally integrate the world and coined the notorious phrase, "All the world under one roof (*hakkō ichiu* 八紘一宇)." Dharmapala not only met with many nationalistic Buddhists in Japan with whom he exchanged mutual influence, but also stimulated YANG Wenhui 楊文會 (1837–1927), a key player in the revival of Buddhism in China. Though Dharmapala was himself a pacifist, he played a significant role in linking Buddhism with nationalism in modern Asia.

Besides Takakusu, there were many scholars and Buddhist monks who gradually came close to extreme nationalism through protecting Buddhism from extreme right-wingers and came to use Kegon philosophy to justify war. Concerning the behavior of these scholars and Buddhist monks, ICHIKAWA Hakugen 市川白弦 (1902–1986) persistently surveyed their behaviors and sought to clarify the responsibility for the war among the Buddhist Community and Buddhist Academic Community, as well as his own responsibility.[19] Ichikawa made his points in a series of articles entitled "War Experience in Buddhism (*Bukkyō ni okeru sensō taiken* 仏教における戦争体験)" (1959–1962). These people included famous scholars, Buddhist monks, and intellectual Buddhists who wrote books about the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and Kegon philosophy, such as KANEKO Daiei 金子大栄, YAMABE Shūgaku 山辺習学, KAMEKAWA Kyōshin 亀川教信, EBE Ōson 江部鴨村, and others. Some of these people were respected for their righteousness, deep beliefs, and scholarship. Why were these people easily swayed by nationalism and why did they develop their nationalistic arguments using Kegon philosophy? Did Kegon philosophy have something common with the *Imperial Rescript on Education*?

This situation held true for Nishida Kitarō, a representative philosopher of modern Japan. Nishida was originally a liberal, but as he defended himself against persistent attacks from the right wing, his argument gradually became close to that of

19 Ishii 2004.

ultranationalists. In his last years, Nishida deepened his own philosophy and often used the phrase "non-obstruction between distinct phenomena" and explained Japan's distinctive features centered on the Imperial family. In other words, Nishida opposed the crude arguments of radical nationalists, while writing articles that gave theoretical significance to the foundation of their arguments, such as Japan's prominence and Japan's particularity, based on his own ideas and on Kegon philosophy.[20] Nishida, however, did not study Kegon philosophy in a systematic way. In later years, Nishida adopted Kegon philosophy into his own ideas because his close friend D. T. Suzuki was actively discussing Kegon philosophy, and his students, Kōyama and Nishitani, had organized an *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* study group and studied Kegon philosophy while they were graduate students. While he was young, Nishida had contact with Kihira, who went to the same university, but in later years, they became enemies. During the war, Kihira and his followers actively criticized Nishida's philosophy as unpatriotic.

D. T. Suzuki's and Ichikawa Hakugen's Perspectives on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*

Unlike many aggressive Zen masters during the war, D. T. Suzuki (1870–1966) did not praise the holy war or suicide attacks. He well understood the power of the Western nations and predicted that Japan would lose the war. During the war, Suzuki began to search for a means to revive Japan in the postwar era. With this purpose in mind, he paid particular attention to the philosophy of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra.* Suzuki was the first Buddhist scholar in East Asia who clearly claimed that it was necessary to separate the philosophy of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* itself from the philosophy of the Kegon school. However, in his *Construction of a Spiritual Japan* (*Reiseiteki nihon no kensetsu* 霊性的日本の建設) published in the year following the defeat in the war, he regarded the philosophy of "non-obstruction between distinct phenomena" of the Kegon school as the basis for rebuilding Japan as a democratic country. In other words, using Kegon philosophy, Suzuki described a picture where nations in the world could freely mingle with each other on an equal footing, and where at home all the people respected each other's freedom, and freely related with one other. This is reminiscent of KANG Youwei's "society of great harmony (*datong shijie* 大同世界)" because both had utopian ideas. Suzuki regarded the Emperor as the center of Japan and expected the Emperor to function as the nucleus of an equitable society where independent people could judge everything for themselves. This is different from the totalitarian idea that prevailed during the war, in which the state and the military controlled every aspect of people's lives.

Suzuki did not regard the Emperor as an absolute God and believed that independent individuals should act according to their own judgment. However, it is true

20 Ishii 2002c.

that the structure of Suzuki's idea resembles a rationalization of the totalitarianism of Kegon philosophy. In fact, later in his life, Suzuki wished that the philosophy of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* would achieve the democratization of Japan and break the deadlock of Western civilization, believing that such a philosophy of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* would become activated only through Japanese spirituality.[21] We can find in Suzuki a link between internationalism and nationalism.

Early on, Suzuki rated Ichikawa Hakugen highly, and Ichikawa was greatly influenced by Suzuki. However, in the postwar era, Ichikawa began to criticize Suzuki. One of the reasons was that Suzuki did not express opposition to militarism during the war, but after the war, suddenly began to criticize Shintōism and Zen masters' wartime behavior. Another reason was that even though Suzuki tried to create a democratic Japan, he situated the Emperor at the center of Japan. Ichikawa, who had been familiar with anarchism since he was young and actually participated in moderate anarchist political movements in the postwar era, appreciated Suzuki's approach, but did not accept the idea of seeing the Emperor as the center of Japan. Ichikawa believed that the society Suzuki pictured should be like the society of "unity of order and anarchy" idealized by Proudhon, and the World of the Lotus Treasury in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* is exactly such a society.[22] Even in his later years, Ichikawa probably was unaware of reformist and revolutionists in China who utilized Huayan philosophy.

Conclusion

In this way, Kegon philosophy was often used in connection with nationalism in modern Japan. This can be partly attributed to the fact that Kegon philosophy had been studied under authority of Emperor Shōmu. More importantly, because Kegon philosophy taught the interpenetration of the individual and the whole, it was easy for it to be connected with totalitarianism. On the other hand, there were some scholars who regarded Kegon philosophy as a theory for a society to be established by free and equal individuals. But these people were in an extreme minority and did not have any meaningful social influence.

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21 Suzuki 1946: 158–163.
22 Ichikawa 1961.

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DOROTHY WONG

THE HUAYAN/KEGON/HWAŎM PAINTINGS IN EAST ASIA

Introduction

Huayan (J. Kegon; K. Hwaŏm) Buddhism, whose teachings are based on the *Huayan jing*, the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* or *Flower Garland Sūtra*, is one of the most important schools of East Asian Buddhism.[1] The *Huayan jing* has provided inspiration for the creation of numerous artworks, ritual objects, and architectural complexes.[2] We are familiar with the portrayals of Vairocana (Ch. Darirulai 大日如來, or Piluzhenafo 毘盧遮那佛), Mañjuśrī (Ch. Wenshu 文殊), and Samantabhadra (Ch. Puxian 普賢) – the "Three Holy Ones" of Huayan Buddhism. The *Gaṇḍavyūha*, or *Rufajiepin* 入法界品, the last chapter of the Tang translation of the *Huayan jing*, recounts the young boy Sudhana's (Ch. Shancai tongzi 善財童子) pilgrimage to visit fifty-three spiritual friends (*kalyāṇamitra*) in search of enlightenment. This originally independent text has inspired a variety of popular pictorial narratives and sculptural reliefs.

In this study I discuss a group of Huayan paintings that hitherto has received relatively little attention. These are the so-called *Huayan bian* 華嚴變, or "transformation tableaux" (referring to *bian* 變, *bianxiang* 變相, or *jingbian* 經變), that are intended to embody, or make manifest, the entirety of the *sūtra*'s teaching in a pictorial format. I examine the Chinese examples from Dunhuang, of ninth- to eleventh-century dates, and the slightly later Japanese ones dating to the Kamakura

1 Early versions of this chapter were presented at the 2004 Association for Asian Studies annual meeting in San Diego, and at the Chinese Buddhism Conference held at Hsi Lai Temple, Los Angeles, in June 2005. I am grateful for the comments from Robert Gimello, the discussant of the 2004 AAS panel, and from Deborah Klimburg-Salter, who has read early drafts of this essay. I would also like to acknowledge the support of a small grant from the Carl H. and Martha S. Lindner Center for Art History, University of Virginia, toward preparation of this essay for publication. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* was first translated into Chinese by the Indian monk Buddhabhadra in 420 (T 278, 60 fascicles), and again by the Khotanese monk Śikṣānanda in 699 (T 279, 80 fascicles). For more details, see Hamar's chapter, "The History of the *Avataṃska-sūtra*," in this volume.

2 Ono 1937, Matsumoto 1937, Fontein 1967, Gómez and Woodward 1981, Ishida 1988.

period (1185–1333). Although most early Hwaŏm paintings from Korea have not survived, some later examples are included for discussion. These three groups of Huayan/Kegon/Hwaŏm paintings share similarities, but they also differ in other ways. This essay is a preliminary attempt to explore and interpret these paintings as a group. Furthermore, an examination of the use of these paintings in ritual contexts, both in East Asia and elsewhere, may shed light on the meanings of these paintings and the emerging esoteric context within which they can be interpreted.

Huayan Paintings in China

The most flourishing period of Huayan Buddhism in East Asia was in the seventh and eighth centuries, when the school's teachings were intertwined with state ideology. Empress Wu Zetian 武則天皇后 (624–705) of Tang dynasty (618–907) China and Emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇 (701–756) of Nara period (710–794) Japan were both important imperial patrons of Huayan/Kegon Buddhism. It was also during the High Tang period (705–780) that we first read about paintings entitled *Huayan bian*. Zhang Yanyuan's 張彥遠 *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 [Record of Famous Painters of All Dynasties] mentions such mural depictions in Yidesi 懿德寺 and Jing'aisi 敬愛寺, Buddhist temples in Chang'an and Luoyang, respectively.[3] In Japan, Monk Dōji 道慈 (d. 744) commissioned an embroidery of *Kegon hen* (*Huayan bian*) for Daianji 大安寺 in 742, suggesting that the new kinds of Buddhist paintings developed in China were closely followed in Japan.[4] The embroidery's title, *Avataṃsaka's Seven Locations and Nine Assemblies* (Ch. *Qichu jiuhui*, J. *Shichisho kyūkai* 七處九會), confirms that its contents were based on the Tang translation of the *sūtra*. (The fifth-century translation of the *Huayan jing* mentions only eight assemblies.) The majority of Huayan paintings at Dunhuang also portray the same subject, and it is to this group that we turn our attention.

Unlike the more alluring, splendid Pure Land paintings, or the captivating narratives of the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* (Ch. *Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經) and the like, the Huayan paintings at Dunhuang have largely been seen as dry and monotonous, lacking in visual appeal that merits study. Most of them depict the Buddha's magical appearances in seven mythical locations where he expounds the Huayan teachings in nine gatherings. The assemblies are more or less identical, static with minimal details about place and narrative contents. Most art historians ascribe this lack of visual interest to the difficulty of representing the abstract, abstruse philosophical doctrine of a text

3 Zhang 847: *juan* 3, 61, 68–69, respectively.

4 In "Daianji garan engi narabini ryūki shizaichō 大安寺伽藍縁起并流記資財帳 [A history of the founding of Daianji and a record of its properties] (747)," in Hanawa Hokinoichi 塙保己一 (1746–1821), 1983 ed., *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従 [A compendium of categorized texts], vol. 24, p. 381. Dōji was one of the Japanese monks who traveled to Tang China during the heyday of Huayan Buddhism.

as long and complex as the *Huayan jing*. Because of such aesthetic judgments, full illustrations of these murals are seldom included in major publications of Dunhuang art. For example, the Dunhuang Academy records a total of twenty-nine murals of *Huayan bian* in the Dunhuang cave-chapels, yet not a single mural was featured in the five-volume series published in the early 1980s.[5]

The recent rediscovery and publication of two large, portable Huayan paintings in the Pelliot Collection, which until recently have been neglected in storage at the Musée Guimet, present new materials for re-evaluation.[6] These two silk paintings are among the largest portable paintings from Dunhuang – one almost 2 meters and the other almost 3 meters in height. Based on their stylistic characteristics, they have been dated to the Five Dynasties (907–960) or Song (960–1279) period, in the tenth century. Their impressive size and fine quality indicate that the Huayan doctrine was of central importance to the Buddhist community at Dunhuang. Probably intended for hanging in temples, they served important liturgical functions.

The first painting portrays the *Seven Locations and Nine Assemblies* (194 × 179 cm), while the second depicts the *Ten Stages of Bodhisattvahood* (286 × 189 cm), based on the *Daśabhūmika*, or *Shidipin* 十地品, chapter of the *Huayan jing* (figs. 1, 2). Like the *Gaṇḍávyūha*, the *Daśabhūmika* was originally an independent text that became incorporated into the larger body of the Avataṃsaka literature.

The painting of *Seven Locations and Nine Assemblies* belongs to the type that originated in the High Tang period and was subsequently transmitted to Korea and Japan. According to the Huayan tradition, after the Buddha achieved enlightenment at Bodhgayā he remained in a trance, in a state of ecstatic beatitude, for a period of four times seven days. During this period of deep meditation, and upon Brahmā's intercession, the Buddha manifested himself in seven mystical locations and preached to the assemblies gathered for his teachings (the total number of assemblies was eight or nine according to the fifth- or seventh-century translations of the *Huayan jing*, respectively.) The Buddha's manifestations are thus magical apparitions, and the mystical locations delineate a movement beginning from the site of the Buddha's enlightenment in the terrestrial realm, then ascending to the heavens, and finally finding a resolution back in the terrestrial domain. This temporal-spatial scheme in

5 Dunhuang wenwu yanjiusuo 敦煌文物研究所 1982: 227–28. In the *Tonkō Bakkōkutsu* 敦煌莫高窟 series (1980–82), there are only views of the ceilings of Cave 9 and 55, which include *Huayan bian*, but the photographs are not of the quality that one can study. The *Dunhuang shiku xishu* 敦煌石窟藝術 series (from 1993) that published individual cave-temples began to include *Huanyan bian* for study; but prior to this publication one still had to rely on Pelliot 1914–24, or Matsumoto's study in 1937. At the 2004 AAS meeting, Robert Gimello commented that a common phenomenon in the reception of religious art is that beatitude is difficult to portray, whereas depictions of the lower realms of spirituality, such as hells scenes in Christian art or the many pictorial narratives in Buddhist art, are much more engaging and are often the first to draw the attention not only of viewers but of scholars as well.

6 Giès 1994, 1996.

the Buddha's apparitions corresponds to the Avataṃsaka cosmology, a variant of the many conceptions of Buddhist cosmology.

In Buddhist cosmology one generally distinguishes between the single-world system, also known as the triple world system, of pre-Mahāyāna Buddhist cosmology and the multiple-world system, or the cosmology of innumerables, of Mahāyāna cosmology; the latter includes the Pure Land cosmology of Amitābha/Amitāyus (Ch. Amituo/Wuliangshoufo 阿彌陀/無量壽佛) and various buddha-fields (*buddhakṣetra*; Ch. *fotu* 佛土). The Avataṃsaka cosmology, or the Lotus Repository World (Ch. *Lianhuazang shijie* 蓮華藏世界) of Vairocana Buddha, however, incorporates the earlier single-world system but transforms it into a fantastic, miraculous realm.[7] The triple world system is divided into three spheres: the *kāmadhātu* (the realm of desire; Ch. *yujie* 欲界), *rūpadhātu* (realm of form; Ch. *sejie* 色界), and *ārūpyadhātu* (realm of formlessness; Ch. *wusejie* 無色界). The seven mystical locations of Vairocana's assemblies all occur within the *kāmadhātu*, the lowest sphere in the triple world system. In the Dunhuang painting, the nine assemblies are neatly arranged in a grid plan of three rows and three columns (fig. 1a). These are, from left to right:

Top register:

5th assembly (Tuṣita Heaven; Ch. Doushuai tian 兜率天)
4th assembly (Suyama Heaven; Ch. Yemo tian 夜摩天)
6th assembly (Paranirmitavaśavartin Heaven; Ch. Tahuazizai tian 他化自在天)

Middle register:

7th assembly (Palace of the Dharma of Universal Radiance, in Magadha; Ch. Puguangfa tang 普光法堂)
3rd assembly (Trāyastriṃśa, summit of Mt. Meru; Ch. Daoli tian 忉利天)
8th assembly (Palace of the Dharma of Universal Radiance, in Magadha)

Bottom register:

2nd assembly (Palace of the Dharma of Universal Radiance, in Magadha)
1st assembly (Bodhgayā, in Magadha; Ch. Puti daochang 菩提道場)
9th assembly (Jetavana Groves, in Kosalas; Ch. Shiduo yuanlin 逝多園林)

The *kāmadhātu* is further divided into the heavens, earth (Jambudvīpa; Ch. Zhanbuzhou 瞻部洲), and hells. In the Huayan scheme, the Buddha preaches the first assembly at Bodhgayā, in the kingdom of Magadha, where he achieved enlightenment, in the bottom center, followed by the second assembly, which takes place in the Palace of the Dharma of Universal Radiance, also in Magadha. The subsequent assemblies take place in the heavenly abodes of gods; the most significant one, the third assembly, shown in the center, occurs at Trāyastriṃśa, the abode of Indra on the summit of Mt. Meru (or Sumeru, Ch. Xumishan 須彌山). The fourth, fifth, and sixth assemblies that follow take place in the upper levels of heaven and are shown in the upper register. The seventh and eighth assemblies, also at the Palace of the

7 Kloetzli 1983, 1987; Sadakata 1997: 143–157; Wong forthcoming.

Dharma of Universal Radiance, flank the third assembly in the middle register. The last or ninth assembly, during which the *Gaṇḍavyūha* chapter is taught, occurs at the Jetavana Groves, in the Kosalas kingdom in Jambudvīpa, the site of the Buddha's first sermon. It is shown to the right of the first assembly, thus concluding the sequence of mystical visions in a kind of ascending and descending path.

Subtly interwoven into this diagrammatic composition we can interpret the Huayan concepts of the *triloka* (three worlds) and the *trikāya* (three bodies; Ch. *sanshen* 三身). For example, the locations occur both at Jambudvīpa and in the heavens of gods. While the historical locations provide the settings for the *nirmāṇakāya* (transformation body; Ch. *huashen* 化身, or *yingshen* 應身) of the Buddha, the mystical places furnish the environments for the apparitions of the Buddha's *saṃbhogakāya* (enjoyment body; Ch. *baoshen* 報身). The Huayan doctrine also describes the Buddha in absolute terms as the *dharmakāya* (truth body; Ch. 法身), embodied by Vairocana, the supreme Buddha of the universe. As the abstract, cosmic form of Śākyamuni, Vairocana is omniscient and omnipresent, and the *sūtra* emphasizes his multiplicity and all-pervading presence. His world is the *dharmadhātu*, the realm of absolute truth, described in the *sūtra* with the metaphor of the lotus, and it is one of ineffable immensity and wonders, embracing countless world systems. This Lotus Repository World is depicted in the bottom part of the painting, separated from the assemblies by an arc of five-colored clouds (fig. 1b). A large lotus emerges from the oceans of fragrant water, supported by two *nāga* kings. Flowers refer to the practice and deeds, which produce fruits and seeds. The ocean of fragrant water symbolizes the "repository consciousness," a storehouse for experiential impressions. The walled enclosures depicted within the lotus refer to the infinity of world systems it contains. The *sūtra* speaks of each atom of the Lotus Repository World as containing the universe of elemental cosmos, countless as the sands of the Ganges.[8]

One of the most well-known representations of the Lotus Repository World is the colossal bronze statue of Vairocana at Tōdaiji 東大寺 first cast in the eighth century, although this iconography is based on the earlier *Brahmajāla-sūtra* (Ch. *Fanwang jing* 梵網經; c. third century C.E.)[9] rather than on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (figs. 3, 3a).[10] Vairocana sits upon a thousand-petaled lotus, each petal of which supports a world. The Buddha incarnates into one thousand Śākyamuni Buddhas, one for each of the worlds. On each petal, in each world, there are ten billion Mt. Meru worlds. The Śākyamuni Buddhas each incarnate into ten billion Śākyamuni bodhisattvas, who dwell within each of these Mt. Meru worlds. Thus there are altogether one Vairocana Buddha, one thousand Śākyamuni Buddhas, and ten trillion Śākyamuni

8 Cleary 1984: 204.

9 T 1484.

10 For a distinction between the two descriptions of the Lotus Repository World based on the *Brahmajāla-sūtra* and the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, see Sadakata 1997: 143–157. The *Brahmajāla-sūtra* is generally thought to be an apocryphal text. At Dunhuang and Yulin there are also mural illustrations of this text; see Huo 1990.

bodhisattvas. On the original petals of this Tōdaiji statue are engravings that depict a simplified version of the Mt. Meru world, with layers of wind circles, and numerous buddhas as Vairocana's incarnations in innumerable worlds. A Chinese depiction of the Lotus Repository World (*Huazang zhuangyan shijiehai tu* 華藏莊嚴世界海圖) has also been preserved on a stele in the Da Kaiyuansi 大開元寺 in Xi'an, dating to the fourteenth century.[11] In this case, the depiction is based on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and focuses on the giant lotus supporting the Mt. Meru world rather than on Vairocana Buddha (fig. 4).

The Dunhuang silk painting is almost identical to the mural from Cave 61 in composition and in the spatial-temporal arrangement of the assemblies (fig. 5). Other Huayan murals are depicted on the sloped walls of ceilings, with the whole composition either fitted into the trapezoidal shape or divided into three slopes, each showing three assemblies. Mt. Meru is prominently displayed in the mural of Cave 55 (fig. 6). Pictorial depictions of Sudhana's pilgrimage are included in some examples, either as framed panels in the bottom of the mural (Cave 12, figs. 7, 7a) or at the sides or bottom section of the mural if the *bianxiang* is depicted on the ceiling, such as the ceiling murals of Caves 9, 85, and 156 (figs. 8, 8a). Compared with the well-known Song printed illustration of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (the *Wenshu zhinan tuzan* 文殊指南圖讚, of Southern Song date),[12] the narrative vignettes in the Dunhuang murals seem rudimentary in iconography, usually showing a youth together with a couple of figures with very few other distinguishing details. Some are discernible when the accompanying cartouches have legible inscriptions. A cartouche from the ceiling mural of Cave 85 mentions Mañjuśrī extending his hand from across a long distance to touch the head of Sudhana, shortly before the youth's last visit to Samantabhadra (fig. 8a).[13] Although *Huayan bian* of High Tang and Mid-Tang (781–848) dates are not yet available for examination, the presence of the depiction of Sudhana's pilgrimage in Late Tang (848–907) cave-temples represents the earliest such examples (see fig. 7, and later discussion of eleventh-century depictions of Sudhana's pilgrimage in the Tabo Monastery in the Western Himalayas).

The iconographic programs of Dunhuang cave-chapels also deserve some attention. From Zhang Yanyuan's and others' descriptions, we know that the Buddhist temples in the Tang capitals are decorated with multiple *bianxiang* murals and other Buddhist subject matter. The Chan hall (*chanyuan* 禪院) of Jing'aisi that contains a mural of *Huayan bian* also includes murals of Amitābha's Pure Land and Maitreya's Paradise, among others.[14] The inclusion of several *bianxiang* within a temple hall is consistent with the practice at Dunhuang beginning in the Tang dynasty. During the

11 Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定 and Sekino Tadashi 関野貞 1975–1976: plates vol. 9, pl. 40; text vol. 2, pp. 38–39.
12 Fontein 1967: 23–40.
13 The full list of *Huayan bian* at Dunhuang includes Caves 6, 9, 12, 25, 44, 45, 53, 55, 61, 76, 85, 98, 108, 127, 138, 144, 146, 156, 159, 196, 231, 232, 237, 261, 431, 449, 454, 471, and 472. They include one mural dating to High Tang, but the rest from Mid-Tang to the Song.
14 Zhang 847: 68.

Early Tang (618–704) and High Tang periods, Pure Land paintings were the most popular, often with Amitābha's and Maitreya's Pure Lands juxtaposed to each other on opposite walls. *Huayan bian* began to be popular at Dunhuang in the Mid-Tang.[15] From that time on and until the Song dynasty, the number of *bianxiang* murals painted within a given cave-chapel increased steadily, from six to more than a dozen. Furthermore, a fair consistency in the pairing of subject matter emerged. In examining the almost thirty murals of *Huayan bian*, almost all of them are depicted on the north wall or the north slope of the ceiling. When one is depicted on the north wall, it invariably faces a *bianxiang* of the *Lotus Sūtra* on the south wall (see appendix 1). The number of *bianxiang* depicted within a cave-chapel gradually increased: the Five Dynasties Cave 98 includes 13, and the Song dynasty Cave 55 has 19 (see appendix 2). These later *bianxiang* paintings become formulaic in expression, and the same regularity in the pairing of certain subject matters persists. Other *bianxiang* subjects that became popular in the ninth and tenth centuries include those associated with Chan and other schools.

By including the transformation tableaux of many *sūtra*s within a cave-chapel in some regular arrangement, the entire program reads like a compendium of canonical texts that encompasses the teachings of the different schools of Buddhism. At the minimum level of interpretation, one can concede that these *bianxiang* subjects attest to the popularity of certain *sūtra*s or the significance of certain schools of Buddhism at Dunhuang at the time: Jingtu 淨土, Tiantai 天台, Huayan 華嚴, Chan 禪, and so on. Increasingly esoteric subject matters also made their presence known – some by being incorporated into the predominantly Mahāyāna program, others by asserting themselves in more independent programs.

The second silk painting illustrates the *Daśabhūmika* chapter of the *Huayan jing*, enumerating the ten stages of bodhisattvahood (fig. 2). The only known depiction of this subject, the painting is divided into four registers, consisting of twelve scenes. The ten transcendent assemblies symbolic of the ten stages are shown from left to right, top to bottom. In the bottom register, the two extra squares show Samantabhadra in the lower left and Mañjuśrī in the lower right, flanking the assembly of Vairocana in the center. The presence of the boy Sudhana among the entourages of Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī makes reference to the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, suggesting that the painting embodies the teachings of both the *Daśabhūmika* and *Gaṇḍavyūha* chapters of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. In doctrinal terms, the painting is an exposition of the path of spiritual advancement, from a description of the progressive stages of bodhisattvahood to Sudhana's pilgrimage and realization of enlightenment under the guidance of the two great bodhisattvas.

The two Huayan paintings on silk are similar in composition in the use of a grid pattern to arrange the assemblies. They also share similar iconographic details and

15 The Dunhuang Academy records that the only extant example of *Huayan bian* of High Tang date, in Cave 44, is depicted within the east-facing niche of the central pillar, but this mural is not yet published. Dunhuang Academy 1982: 15.

stylistic characteristics, suggesting that they were made about the same time. The French scholar Giès suggests that these two liturgical paintings are related to each other dialectically. Perhaps hung on temple walls facing each other as a ritual presentation, they set up a visual hierarchy analogous to the scholastic exposition of both a general theory and a scheme of practice.[16]

If there remains doubt as to the value of interpreting the meaning and function of the icons and murals at the Dunhuang cave-chapels due to the fact that their interiors were almost completely dark, then one must remember that these cave-chapels come close to simulating the interiors of temple halls, probably both in layout and in subject matter.[17] Copious records of Buddhist temples of Tang and Song times mention the same kind of sculptures and *bianxiang* murals adorning the temple halls.[18] Furthermore, the silk painting depicting *Seven Locations and Nine Assemblies* (fig. 1) is virtually identical to the mural in Cave 61 (see fig. 5), while other Huayan murals bear only minor variations. This similarity between portable paintings and cave-temple murals suggests that they shared the same designs/models and may have been executed by the same workshops and artists. The large format of the two *Huayan bian* silk paintings indicates that they were likely hung in temples. Called *zhenghua* 幀畫, they were hung behind the main image(s) on the altars in temple halls, on side walls, or, in later times, even outside the temples (such as the large thangka paintings hung outside Tibetan monasteries). Some extant, though later, portable Hwaŏm *zhenghua* (K. *t'aenghwa*) in Korea that are still hung in temples confirm the ritual use and visual practice of displaying such paintings (see discussion below).

Kegon Paintings in Japan

In Japan, Kegon Buddhism was one of the old schools of Nara Buddhism, with its headquarters at the Tōdaiji, but it declined after the move of the capital to Kyoto and the destruction of Tōdaiji during the civil war. The embroidered *Seven Locations and Nine Assemblies* that Monk Dōji commissioned for Daianji in 742, which we assume

16 Giès 1996: 45–46.

17 At the AAS meeting and elsewhere, Robert Sharf raised the issue (and is not the first one to do so) that since the interiors of Dunhuang cave-chapels were so dark, no rituals or other practices, such as meditation or visualization, could have taken place inside them. While this is true, and the cave-chapels may indeed have commemorative or other functions, this does not diminish the value of studying these murals and icons – or the iconographic program as a whole – for understanding contemporary practices that took place in the halls of monasteries. One must, of course, distinguish between the temple and the cave-chapel contexts.

18 In addition to Zhang Yanyuan's *Lidai Minghua ji*, and Duan Chengshi's 段成式 "Sita ji 寺塔記," which record the many temples of Tang Chang'an and Luoyang, we also have records of major temples such as the Xiangguosi 相國寺 in the Northern Song capital of Kaifeng. The Xiangguosi, for example, includes a Lushena dian 盧舍那殿 (Hall of Vairocana) that houses a life-sized Buddha statue, flanked by Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra in side towers; lining the connecting corridors are tall steles engraved with the *Huayanjing*. See Soper 1948: 24–26.

closely followed the iconography and composition developed in Tang China and was similar to examples at Dunhuang, also did not survive. The record in *Daianji garan engi narabini shizaichō* 大安寺伽藍縁起并流記資財帳 (747), however, notes that the embroidered painting is 20 *shaku* 尺 high and 18 *shaku* wide (approximately 6.6 meters × 6 meters), indicating that the portable painting was of impressive size.[19] Even if the dimension given is figurative rather than literal, there are indications that the portable painting was probably of impressive size, for known Shingon mandaras can be as tall as 4 to 5 meters high.[20]

In the Kamakura period, Rōben 良辨 (1173–1232), or Myōe Shōnin 明恵上人, sought to revive Kegon Buddhism, and Kōzanji 高山寺, where he served as abbot, became the new center of the Kegon school.[21] The next group of Kegon paintings in Japan, dating from the thirteenth century, are all associated with Myōe in one way or another. Major studies by Jan Fontein and ISHIDA Hisatoyo 石田尚豊, among others, have given us a detailed genealogy and analysis of this group of Kegon paintings.[22] Three are associated with Sudhana's Pilgrimage: *Zenzai dōji emaki* 善財童子絵巻 [Handscroll of Sudhana's pilgrimage], in handscroll format; *Kegon gojūgo sho-e* 華厳五十五所絵 [The Fifty-five Visits (of Sudhana) as Narrated in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], a set of paintings mounted on wooden frames; and *Kegon kai-e zenchishiki mandara* 華厳海会善知識曼荼羅 [The Good Friends of the Avataṃsaka Ocean Assembly]. Two others are: *Kegon kai-e sho shōju mandara* 華厳海会諸聖眾曼荼羅 [The Congregation of Holy Beings of the Avataṃsaka Ocean Assembly]; and *Kegon engi emaki* 華厳縁起絵巻 [Handscroll of the Founding of Avataṃsaka Buddhism], which narrates the founding of Avataṃsaka Buddhism in the Korean kingdom of Silla by the monks Gishō 義湘 (K. Ŭisang; 625–702) and Gangyō 元曉 (K. Wŏnhyo; 617–686), whose disciples propagated the Avataṃsaka doctrine in Japan. The narrative handscrolls and the mounted panels are not discussed below; instead I focus on the *Kegon kai-e zenchishiki mandara* and the *Kegon kai-e sho shōju mandara*, both of which are iconic portrayals of the Kegon Ocean Assembly similar to the Huayan paintings at Dunhuang. Yet these two Japanese paintings already show divergence from the Dunhuang examples.

19 The same entry in "Daianji garan engi narabini shizaichō" mentions another embroidered painting of the same size, depicting the *Dai hannya shijūjūrokkai* 大般若四重十六会 [Four Locations and Sixteen Assemblies of Mahāprajñāpāramitā]. The title suggests that the painting might share a similar composition of depicting a number of Buddha's assemblies, like the Huayan paintings at Dunhuang. Dōji is known for introducing the Mahāprajñāpāramitā ritual (called *hannyakai* 般若会), which is still practiced today. A third embroidered painting that he commissioned for Daianji depicted the Buddha flanked by bodhisattvas and the eight classes of beings, and was taller, though narrower, than the other two that were based on the Kegon and Hannya texts. See *Daianji garan engi narabini shizaichō* 747: 379.

20 I thank J. Edward Kidder, Jr., for sharing his knowledge of interpreting these measurements mentioned in historical records in relation to actual paintings and sculptures.

21 For a discussion of Myōe's Kegon beliefs, see Tanabe 1992: 122–158.

22 Fontein 1967: 78–115; Ishida 1988. See also Brock 1988; Myōe Shōnin to Kōzanji iinkai 明恵上人と高山寺委員会 1981: 290–343.

The *Kegon kai-e zenchishiki mandara*, in the collection of Tōdaiji, was painted by Raien 賴圓 in the late thirteenth century (fig. 9). Occupying the top center is Vairocana, while the fifty-four small squares show the sequence of Sudhana's visit to the sages from top left (Mañjuśrī) to bottom right (Samantabhadra) in a zigzagging fashion. The placement of Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra at the beginning and end of the sequence reiterates the two bodhisattvas' pivotal roles in guiding Sudhana's spiritual journey. In tracing the pedigree of this painting, Fontein concludes that it is probably a later copy of one originally commissioned by Myōe. Myōe had long expressed his desire to travel to China, though he was dissuaded from doing so because of his dream revelations. However, because of the renewed traffic between Kamakura Japan and Song China, Myōe apparently had access to models or sketches of Song Buddhist paintings (*karahon* 唐本) and had copied sketches of Sudhana's pilgrimage. When his aunt commissioned the painting of a *zenchishiki mandara*, Myōe's sketches were dispatched to the Kyoto monk painter Shunga 俊賀 in 1201 as the model. The *mandara* that Shunga painted was in turn given to Sonshōin 尊勝院 of Tōdaiji. Some time later several copies of this *mandara* were painted, and Raien copied one for the Kōzanji in 1294 (which also included one by Shunga). Thus if this painting has any reference to Chinese models, it is at best a thirdhand copy.

Since this Kegon *mandara* portrays the spiritual teachers of Sudhana, the textual source is the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. Nevertheless, with the choice of an iconic rather than a narrative mode of presentation, the emphasis has shifted from capturing Sudhana's experience to portraying the holy congregation of Sudhana's teachers. Fontein suggests that this painting derived its iconographic details from Song works such as the *Wenshu zhinan tuzan* prints (fig. 10). The main differences are that individual scenes have been stripped down to minimal details and then arranged into a diagrammatic, *mandara*-like arrangement. The unusual preaching *mudrā* of Vairocana, with both hands facing outward, is the same as that in a sketch in Myōe's dream diary and in the sculptural relief of the Huayan assembly at Feilaifeng 飛來峰 in Hangzhou (dated 1022), indicating Myōe's exposure to new iconographic features in Song Buddhist art (figs. 11, 12). Note that in these images Vairocana is shown in esoteric form as a crowned, bejeweled Buddha.

The use of the term *mandara* for the painting's title is noteworthy, and can be further explored in conjunction with the *Kegon kai-e sho shōju* [The Congregation of Holy Beings of the Avataṃsaka Ocean Assembly] dated c. 1300 (fig. 13). The painting shows sixty-one bodhisattvas, *deva*s, and members of the eight classes of heavenly beings, each painted within a rectangle. In the top center is Vairocana accompanied by the great bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara (Ch. Guanyin, J. Kannon 觀音) and Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Ch. Dashizhi, J. Daiseishi 大勢至), and the heavenly kings. Like the previous painting, the figures are statically arranged in a grid pattern. In its delicate style and iconography, the painting also shows strong Chinese influence, such as the portrayal of the King of Tuṣita Heaven as a Chinese official. In particular, the figural style is associated with that of the Song figure painter Li Gonglin 李公麟 (c. 1047–1106), who is known to have painted the subject of Avataṃsaka

scenes.[23] *Kōzanji engi* 高山寺縁起 mentions two paintings of this type, one of which was by Shunga. Thus both of the Kegon paintings just discussed have connections to Myōe and to the painter Shunga, and some connection to Song Buddhist paintings or prints.[24]

Ritual and Visual Practice

The fact that these two Kegon paintings employ the same compositional formula suggests that such paintings were used as pairs in a ritual setting. In the Dunhuang pair, the ten stages of bodhisattvahood, with implicit reference made to Sudhana's pilgrimage, were juxtaposed to Vairocana's nine assemblies in seven locations. In the Japanese pair, Sudhana's pilgrimage was juxtaposed to the congregation of the Kegon assembly. In both these examples, the representation of Vairocana's assembly in conjunction with the delineation of the path of spiritual advancement came to embody both the essence and the entirety of the Avataṃsaka doctrine.

The Dunhuang Huayan paintings drew on prototypes of an earlier tradition first developed in the eighth century. The Kamakura paintings apparently incorporated new iconographic details and styles from Song China that had not yet been reflected at Dunhuang. These included the emphasis on the *Gaṇḍavyūha* made popular by the wood-block printing of *Wenshu zhinan tuzan*, a much enlarged Avataṃsaka congregation, the esoteric portrayal of Vairocana, and the new figural styles developed by painters such as Li Gonglin. Furthermore, the Japanese Kegon paintings show additional departures from their Chinese prototypes. First, instead of full assemblies, the figures are shown individually. In the *zenchishiki mandara*, the descriptive and narrative details in the Chinese models are reduced to one or two figures frozen in time, thus transforming the narrative mode into the iconic mode (compare fig. 9a with fig. 10, as both show Sudhana's visits to the night goddesses). Second, the arrangement of the fifty-three sagely figures becomes temporal and directional. In the ritual setting, perhaps this composition is essential and appropriate to the exposition of the Kegon doctrine, reinforced by the presence of the Kegon assembly in the accompanying painting. Members of the congregation are shown in their hierarchical order, with the important ones shown in the top and center, in accordance with the general principle of illustrating the Buddhist iconic group.

This interpretation can likewise be applied to the two Dunhuang silk paintings in their liturgical use, namely, with the delineation of the ten stages of bodhisattvahood shown in conjunction with the apparition of the Buddha's assemblies in their mythical locations, structurally arranged according to their relative positions in the Buddhist cosmos. A viewer/practitioner in the presence of these paintings would be reminded

23 Fontein 1967: 24.
24 Fontein 1967: 110.

of – and would thus enact, through ritualistic and performative actions – the spiritual journey toward enlightenment (see further discussion below).

In regard to the term *mandara* (*maṇḍala*), we know that the Japanese have used it rather loosely, from Pure Land paintings (such as the *Taima mandara*) to shrine *mandara*s and the map-like configurations of esoteric deities in the Tantric tradition.[25] The two Kegon paintings are also called *mandara*s. Considering their similarities, the Dunhuang Huayan paintings can be considered predecessors of the Japanese Kegon *mandara*s. In these examples, the description of physical settings for assemblies is reduced to an abstract, structural order, while the path of spiritual progression is rendered in the temporal, lineal direction. Huayan teachings have sometimes been called proto-Tantric, and the abstract, diagrammatic character of these *Huayan bian* further affiliates them with later esoteric *mandara*s. In Song China, Huayan Buddhism interacted with Chan. In Japan, Kegon further amalgamated with both Zen and Shingon Buddhism, and Myōe was a pivotal figure in this development, to the extent that Myōe has sometimes been called the first patriarch of Esoteric Kegon.[26]

The placement of the paintings and sculptures in both the Buddha Hall and the three-storied pagoda of Kōzanji attests to Myōe's amalgamation of Kegon with esoteric teachings late in his career.[27] In the three-storied pagoda, for example, the center of the space is occupied by statues of the five holy deities of Kegon, which now include Vairocana, Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, Avalokiteśvara (Ch. Guanyin, J. Kannon 觀音), and Maitreya (Ch. Mile, J. Miroku 彌勒; fig. 14). A painting of the same configuration, called *Kegon gosei mandara* 華厳五聖曼荼羅, is also associated with Myōe; this grouping is part of the Garbhadhātu *maṇḍala*, or Womb World *mandara* (J. Taizōka mandara 胎蔵界曼荼羅). The painting on the north depicts the Gohimitsu 五秘密: Vajrasattva (J. Kongōsatta 金剛薩埵) and four other esoteric bodhisattvas; the *Gohimitsu mandara* represents one of the nine assemblies of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*, or Diamond World *mandara* (J. Kongōkai mandara 金剛界曼荼羅). Thus the juxtaposition of the sculptural *Kegon gosei mandara* and the painting of the *Gohimitsu mandara* represents, at one level, the union/nonduality of the Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*s. Furthermore, since the *Kegon kai-e zenchishiki mandara* is placed directly behind the *Gohimitsu mandara*, Sudhana's fifty-three spiritual teachers are made part of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*, whereas the holy figures and the eight classes of heavenly beings of the Kegon Ocean Assembly depicted on the four pillars and the side walls become aligned with the Garbhadhātu *maṇḍala*. The two pictorial Kegon paintings have thus been integrated into the dual *maṇḍala* system of Shingon 真言 Buddhism.[28]

25 ten Grotenhuis 1999.

26 Tanabe 1992: 140.

27 Ishida 1988: 53–55. In the Shimen jibutsu dō 四面持仏堂, the configuration includes the two Kegon *mandara*s, *Gohimitsu*, as well as the Womb World and Diamond World *mandara*s.

28 Ishida 1988: 54.

Myōe also advocates the practice of *kōmyō shingon* 光明真言 to achieve insight into the Kegon doctrine of interpenetration made visible by light and radiance. In a work on the ritual meditation on one of the good friends of Sudhana (Śilābhijña, from whom Sudhana learns a forty-two-character *mantra* at his forty-fifth visit), Myōe notes how one should prepare for the ritual with "proper posture, purification, prayer, incense offerings, and mantra recitations. Then the meditation hall must be visualized as Magadha, and the participant must become Sudhana himself. The Kegon vision of interpenetration of all things with all things and of the dharma realm with the ordinary world of dust is conjured, followed by more mantras. The practitioner is then called upon to identify with Mañjuśrī and each of the *kalyāṇamitra*s."[29] Myōe also instructs the practitioner to meditate on a wheel of the *mantra*'s letters and on the recitation of the *mantra*, which dispels the darkness of ignorance with a vision of light and radiance.

While this discussion by no means addresses the contents of Myōe's complex teachings, I hope it has demonstrated the continuities as well as divergences between the Chinese and the Japanese Huayan/Kegon paintings, and how these paintings were continuously engaged with doctrinal developments of their time and place. At Dunhuang, *Huayan bian*, in conjunction with the cultic deities of the Avataṃsaka triad, remained an important theme in medieval Chinese Buddhist practice. At Kōzanji, Myōe's personal vision had an enormous impact, both in terms of the synthesis of Kegon with esoteric teachings and in the artistic production and ritual use of these paintings.

Hwaŏm Paintings in Korea

The Avataṃsaka school was one of the most prominent schools of Buddhism in Korea. Ŭisang and Wŏnhyo brought Avataṃsaka Buddhism to Korea from China, and their disciples disseminated the doctrine in Japan. Unfortunately, Hideyoshi's campaign in the sixteenth century destroyed many Buddhist establishments in Korea. Most early Hwaŏm pictorial art in Korea has not survived, except for some examples of frontispiece illustrations of illuminated *sūtra*s. Several recently discovered fragments belong to the frontispiece illustration to a copy of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* dated to 754 (figs. 15, 15a).[30] Delineated in "thin iron wire" lines in gold and silver on thick, purple-dyed mulberry paper, the scene shows an Avataṃsaka assembly. Seated on a lion throne under a tree canopy and in front of a two-story pavilion, Vairocana is accompanied by Mañjuśrī on the right. Both the figure style and the composition are consistent with High Tang depictions of Buddha's assemblies, except for the lack of symmetry in balancing Mañjuśrī with another great bodhisattva. In his reconstruction of these fragments, Kang Woobang also notes the armband of Vairocana (much

29 Tanabe 1992: 140.
30 Pak 1987/88: 360–362, fig. 5; Kang 1989: 4–7, figs. 1.1–1.5; See Kang 2003: 176–177.

of the image is damaged), and concludes that Vairocana is presented in the esoteric bodhisattva form, probably with hands held in the wisdom fist *mudrā*.[31]

Several Hwaŏm paintings in the *zhenghua* (K. *t'aenghwa*) format, of eighteenth-century dates, are relevant to the present discussion. The three extant Hwaŏm paintings are found in: Songgwangsa 松廣寺, Hall of Hwaŏm, in Chogye Mt. (dated 1770, 281 × 255 cm); Sŏnamsa 仙巖寺, Hall of the Eight Phases, in South Cholla Province (dated 1780, 279 × 248 cm); and Sanggyesa 雙溪寺, Hall of the Great Hero, in Chiri Mt. (dated 1790).[32] All of them are paintings in color on hemp with silk gauze, and these large banner-like paintings are similar in height to the second of the two Dunhuang silk paintings (*Ten Stages of Bodhisattvahood*, fig. 2), though larger than the first one (*Seven Locations and Nine Assemblies*, fig. 1). All three Hwaŏm paintings depict the subject of seven locations and nine assemblies, and bear resemblance to the Chinese ones. In the example at Songgwangsa, the painting is divided into four horizontal registers: the top three registers are for the seven locations (of Vairocana's nine assemblies), and the bottom register depicts the Lotus Repository World (figs. 16, 16a).[33] Unlike the more regular grid plans of the two Dunhuang paintings, the arrangement of assemblies in the Songgwangsa painting is less rigid. The second register shows the first assembly in the center, the second, seventh, and eighth assemblies to the right (as they all take place at the Palace of the Dharma of Universal Radiance), and the ninth assembly to the left. The third and fifth assemblies are depicted in the third register, while the fourth and sixth assemblies are in the top register. Thus the number of units is determined by the number of locations rather than the number of assemblies (the 2–2–3 arrangement looks less regular than the 3–3–3 grid of the Dunhuang examples), giving greater emphasis to spatial than to temporal concerns. Nonetheless, the Songgwangsa painting preserves the hierarchical structure of these locations in correspondence to their vertical placement within the *kāmadhātu*, namely, those assemblies taking place at Jambudvīpa occur at the lower (second) register, while those taking place in the heavens are shown in the upper registers.

31 Kang 1992: fig. 1.5; Kang 2003: 176–177. Since this is the earliest extant example of the esoteric bodhisattva form of Vairocana, Kang concludes: "From the eighth to ninth century Unified Silla and Japan followed separate paths in the practice of Buddhism, the former receiving Avataṃsaka and Zen from China and the latter, Esoteric Buddhism. Korean Buddhism of that time combined Avataṃsaka and Zen, and Vairocana with the wisdom fist was an object of devotion outside the Avataṃsaka and Zen temples as well. In other words, Korean Buddhism, revealing Zen influence, was not rigidly sect-divided, whereas Japanese Buddhism emphasized ritual and sectarian distinction, as prescribed by Esoteric Buddhism." Kang 2003: 177. I would like to thank YI Jongbok for interpreting Kang's essay (1992, in Korean) for me.

32 I am grateful to KANG Woobang, PAK Youngsook, and Robert Gimello for the information and references on Hwaŏm art in Korea.

33 Sorensen 1988; the Hwaŏm painting at Sŏnamsa is identical in composition, in Mun 1984: pls. 85–89. One of the photographs in Sorensen's article (fig. 2) shows the painting hung against the wall behind the icons on the altar in the temple hall, and points to how the Dunhuang silk paintings might have been used.

In the ninth assembly, which occurs at the Jetavana Groves, the pictorial content is considerably more complex than that depicted at Dunhuang. In addition to Vairocana's assembly and the accompaniment of Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī is shown twice: once as a youth, seated inside a pagoda-like structure (referring to Maitreya's magical *kūṭāgāra*) with Maitreya standing to the right, and again seated inside the city in a scene to the left. The two scenes refer to Sudhana's fifty-first and fifty-second visits; below the pagoda, all fifty-three teachers of Sudhana are shown in rows. In all nine assemblies, Vairocana Buddha is shown in the same form as in Japan's *Kegon kai-e zenchishiki mandara*, that is, as a crowned and bejeweled Buddha with hands in the unique teaching gesture. The bottom register depicts the Lotus Repository World, with a giant lotus spanning the whole width of the painting. This Lotus World, the sum total of the Buddha's universal and perfect enlightenment, emanates the Worlds of the Ten Directions, each of which gives rise to ten lesser satellite worlds; these are shown in larger and smaller circles schematically.[34]

When comparing this Hwaŏm painting with the tenth-century Dunhuang examples and the thirteenth-century Japanese examples, it seems that the Korean tradition closely follows the Chinese lineage established in the Tang dynasty by giving weight to Vairocana's nine assemblies. At the same time, the new iconographic form of Vairocana, the full depiction of Sudhana's fifty-three teachers in the ninth assembly, and the diagrammatic representation of the Lotus Repository World and its satellite worlds show the Korean artists' awareness of later iconographic developments in both China and Japan.

Beyond East Asia

Thus far the discussion of this group of Avataṃsaka paintings has focused on their iconography, composition, aspects of their stylistic character, and, to some extent, the placement and visual practice of these painting in temple settings. If complete understanding of the ritual use of these paintings remains elusive, perhaps a consideration of other monuments and contexts outside of East Asia will shed additional light. Deborah Klimburg-Salter recently drew my attention to the presence of a complete mural cycle depicting the *Gaṇḍavyūha* in the Tabo Monastery in the Western Himalayas.[35] The monastery was founded in 996, while the assembly hall of the Main Temple, where the *Gaṇḍavyūha* murals are located, dates to the second artistic phase of the temple's renovation in the eleventh century. Since the depictions of Sudhana's pilgrimage in Dunhuang murals date to as early as the ninth and tenth centuries (see fig. 7a), they may provide a missing link between those in the Western Himalayas and the Song and Kamakura examples with twelfth- and thirteenth-century dates. The Main Temple at Tabo consists of an entry hall, an assembly hall, a cella, and an

34 Sorensen 1988: 97.
35 Klimburg-Salter 1997.

ambulatory (fig. 17). The temple is dedicated to Vairocana, including the original Vairocana image in the cella and a four-bodied Mahāvairocana added in front of the cella during the renovation. Protector figures and guardians of the directions are depicted inside the entry hall, while the entrance wall to the assembly hall is decorated with a wheel of life on the left juxtaposed with a cosmological picture on the right. This follows an ancient tradition of temple building in India, for early monastic regulations stipulate that a wheel of life/existence, the *bhavacakra*, should be represented in the entrance hall of each monastery.[36] The wheel of life, which portrays the six realms of human existence, emphasizes the endless cycles of birth and rebirth and the goal of reaching ever higher levels of existence until achieving ultimate release, or nirvāṇa, from the chain of causation.

The entire program of the assembly hall, carried out during the renovation in the eleventh century, has been preserved intact. The four walls are each divided into three horizontal registers. The lower section depicts two narrative cycles. Upon entering the assembly hall, the murals begin with the south side of the east wall and continue, in a clockwise direction, through the four walls to conclude on the north side of the east wall: the *Gaṇḍavyūha* appears on the south side, and the Life of the Buddha on the north side (figs. 18, 18a). Sudhana's pilgrimage commences with his meeting with Mañjuśrī and ends with Sudhana in the palace of Samantabhadra, while the narrative of Life of the Buddha begins with the Future Śākyamuni in Tuṣita Heaven and concludes with Śākyamuni's *parinirvāṇa*.

The middle section contains sculpted deities of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*, with thirty-two life-sized clay sculptures bonded to the four walls, along with the free-standing four-bodied Mahāvairocana seated on a lotus throne in front of the cella that allows for circumambulation (figs. 19, 19a). Evenly spaced among the bodhisattvas of the *maṇḍala* are the Buddhas of the Four Directions: Akṣobhya (east) and Ratnasambhava (south) on the south wall, and Amitābha (west) and Amoghasiddhi (north) on the north wall. The upper section, whose murals have suffered more damage, portrays the Buddhas of the Ten Directions with attendant bodhisattvas as well as other Buddha realms, including a triad of the Buddha with Avalokiteśvara and Samantabhadra above the entrance on the east wall and the Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara-Mañjuśrī *maṇḍala* on the north side of the west wall.

The three-tier program of the assembly thus presents not only an iconographic unity but also a theory and a practice not unlike the Avataṃsaka art that we have been examining. This program corresponds to a vision of the cosmic geography and a path of attaining enlightenment, which can be experienced and enacted by the

36 One of the earliest extant examples is a fresco in the porch section of Cave 17 at Ajaṇṭā, which dates to the late fifth or early sixth century. Thus the Tabo Monastery has preserved this ancient Indian tradition of monastery building and iconographic program. The earliest example of the wheel of life image in China is found in the Baodingshan site in Sichuan, dating to Song times. Howard 2001: 6–10, Fig. 9. A tenth-century example is also depicted at Yulin Cave 19; see Zhang Boyuan 張伯元, 1998: 20–23. I'm grateful to Stephen Teiser for pointing out that there is also a wheel of life depicted in Kumtara Cave 75; see Teiser's forthcoming book (2006) on the topic.

practitioner during the ritual performance of circumambulation (*pradakṣina*) inside the assembly hall. Through ritual circumambulation and meditation, the practitioner enters into the *maṇḍala* and unites with the deities who reside there. By contemplating the paths undertaken by Sudhana and Siddhārtha, the practitioner also enacts this path toward gaining enlightenment. Klimburg-Salter writes:

> Traditionally the practitioner would circumambulate at least three times around the main Vairocana image. In Tabo he progresses through the spiritual geography of the mandala and simultaneously identifies with the spiritual pilgrimage accomplished in the narratives, first by Sudhana and then by Siddhārtha, the Buddha Śākyamuni. Thus through meditation and ritual circumambulation he performs a symbolic pilgrimage which also leads to successively higher levels of consciousness.[37]

The ritual practice described here bears remarkable similarity to that advocated by Myōe discussed earlier. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* had been in popular currency for some centuries before its depiction at the Tabo Monastery, yet the unusual arrangement there of individual scenes accompanied by panels of text comes more from the Chinese than the Indian tradition (note the extensive use of cartouches to identify scenes in Dunhuang murals). Furthermore, the narrative's lucidity in a linear, temporal arrangement reinforces the interpretation that a viewer "activates" the narrative by physically moving through the space of the narrative.[38]

An even earlier narrative cycle of Sudhana's pilgrimage can be found in the sculptural reliefs of Borobuḍur, dating possibly to the eighth century (figs. 20, 20a).[39] The interpretation of the complex of Borobuḍur has spawned many theories (ranging from the monument as a *prāsāda* or terraced building to a *stūpa*, an architectural *maṇḍala*, or a commemorative monument),[40] but one of the commonly agreed-upon perceptions is that of the milieu of esoteric Buddhism during which this monument was built.[41] The identities of the Buddha images on the upper galleries and of the unfinished Buddha within the central *stūpa* remain unclear, yet the textual sources of sculptural reliefs on the lower galleries include the *Mahākarmavibha*, *Lalitavistara*, *jātaka*s, *avadāna*s, and the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. Despite their differences, Klimburg-Salter

37 Klimburg-Salter 1997: 108.

38 Klimburg-Salter 1997: 132–133. Klimburg-Salter also notes that this viewing experience is somewhat similar to the viewing of narrative *sūtra* scrolls in East Asia, although in this case the viewer is stationary but activates the narrative through the unfolding and viewing of the scroll; see Klimburg-Salter 1997: 133.

39 Fontein 1967: 116–174. For a discussion of the scholarship on Borobuḍur, see Gómez and Woodward 1981: 1–14.

40 The intended function of Borobuḍur as a commemorative monument does not conflict with its other possible meanings, the same way that, if a specific Dunhuang cave-chapel's primary function was commemorative, this does not preclude interpretation of the iconographic program of the cave-chapel, since most monuments can have multiple levels of meanings.

41 That the two Indian monks who introduced esoteric Buddhism to China, Vajrabodhi (670–741) and Amoghavajra (719–774), both passed through Java before reaching Chang'an was not irrelevant. From Chang'an Kūkai (774–835) in turn introduced this tradition to Japan, founding the Shingon school.

draws a parallel between the theory and practice at Borobuḍur and at the Tabo Monastery. She writes:

> The existence of Borobuḍur in Java is particularly interesting from our point of view for several reasons. 1) We have the fusion of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala with an architectural space. 2) The elements of the iconographic program are the same as those at Tabo: the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, and the narratives from the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and the life of the Buddha. The viewer begins with the previous Lives of the Buddha and then, through the ritual circumbulation of the stupa, he progresses from terrace to terrace upward through the Life of the Buddha Śākyamuni, followed by the Pilgrimage of Sudhana and then, as he circumambulates through the mandala, he ascends through successive layers of realizations.[42]

The group of Avataṃsaka paintings examined here is connected to Borobuḍur and the Tabo Monastery because of the subject of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. While it can be seen that the Dunhuang *Huayan bian* (and to a large extent the Korean ones) are truthful to the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in the exoteric or mainstream Mahāyāna context, those in Japan evolved toward an esoteric understanding, in tandem with the new esoteric movement that spread in different geographical regions of Asia. Thus Sudhana's visit to the fifty-three sages became an enduring metaphor of the prototypical pilgrimage central to the Buddhist concept of soteriology, rivaling or paired with none other than the journey of the Life of the Buddha.

At the fundamental level, a *maṇḍala* is understood to be a cosmic diagram that portrays deities in a schematic fashion. A mandalic arrangement can be expressed in painting, sculpture, in temple layout, interiors of main halls, or in the movement of rituals.[43] In her examination of the Ellora cave-temple site in India as an early expression of esoteric, mandalic structures in the seventh and eighth centuries, Geri H. Malandra notes:

> The conception of the *maṇḍala* as a diagram is extended into a visualization of concrete architectural space, and was transformed into actual temple architecture and sculpture. The universe-in-the-*maṇḍala* is thus described and represented as a palace and, at the same time, the *maṇḍala* as a whole is conceived as being located in a *kūṭāgāra*, a three-storied eaved palace resting on top of Mount Sumeru. … Such *maṇḍala*s as these include layers, or galleries in which reside numerous manifestations of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and other deities.[44]

In spatial terms, a *maṇḍala* is a sacred space that the initiates approach in carefully orchestrated steps, and into which the gods are invited to descend. As Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis observes, it "lays out a sacred territory or realm in microcosm, showing the relations among the various powers active in that realm and offering deities a sacred precinct where enlightenment takes place."[45] Robert Sharf likewise notes that a Shingon *mandara* "is not so much a representation of the divine as it is the locus of the divine – the ground upon which the deity is made manifest."[46]

42 Klimburg-Salter 1997: 105.
43 Malandra 1993: 17–21. For a discussion of the definitions of *maṇḍala*s, see Saunders 1987: 155–158.
44 Malandra 1993: 18.
45 ten Grotenhuis 1999: 2.
46 Sharf 2001: 189.

In a more general sense, if a *maṇḍala* is understood as a congregation of deities, then the commonality of the Avataṃsaka paintings in East Asia is apparent: they all portray a gathering of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and other heavenly beings, whether these are the mystical apparitions of Vairocana in various assemblies, the fifty-three teachers of Sudhana (*Kegon kai-e zenchishiki mandara*), or the congregation of all classes of holy beings of the Avataṃsaka assembly (*Kegon kai-e sho shōju*). But whereas the presentation of the Huayan paintings at Dunhuang and elsewhere in China remains couched in the mainstream Mahāyāna visual practice, in which *Huayan bian* were but one of many types of *bianxiang* associated with popular canonical Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, in Kamakura Japan, under the guidance of Myōe, the arrangement of paintings and sculptures within the three-storied pagoda and inside the Buddha Hall of Kōzanji realizes the establishment of a mandalic ritual space in three-dimensional, architectural space. The study of these Avataṃsaka paintings of East Asia thus provides a window to understanding several strands of developments that occurred in the Buddhist world between the eighth and thirteenth century: (1) the central role of Avataṃsaka teachings in shaping visual and ritual practice in both exoteric and esoteric contexts (evidenced by the significance of the cultic status of Vairocana and the popularity of the theme of Sudhana's pilgrimage); (2) the development of earlier iconography into diagrammatic, schematic arrangements of presenting deities in cosmic, geographical spaces that are now called *maṇḍala*s; and (3) the formulation of a clearly delineated soteriology that encompasses the theories of the three bodies and the three realms. Furthermore, the significance of Avataṃsaka teachings and the associated visual practice can be put into sharper focus when considering contemporary developments in the Buddhist world beyond East Asia.

In artistic terms, we've seen the deployment of both conventional narrative and iconic modes for representation. In traditional Buddhist imagery, such as the representation of a Buddha triad, the sacred figures are portrayed in a transfixed, timeless manner. But stories that involve the protagonist's actions that occur at specific time and locations, such as Sudhana's pilgrimage or the Buddha's life events, are often depicted with the techniques of pictorial narratives. Underlying the distinction between these two modes of representation is also the implied separation of the sacred realm from the world of the mundane, or, in Buddhist terminology, the Buddha's realm versus the *sahāloka* or Jambudvīpa. In more developed Mahāyāna teachings, such as the Avataṃsaka or esoteric doctrine, it seems that the abstract, diagrammatic mode is the preferred mode for portraying happenings in the Buddha's realm that also involve temporal and spatial/cosmological dimensions. That the *Huayan bian*, as preserved in the Dunhuang silk paintings, were superseded by the popular narratives of Sudhana's pilgrimage in China while being preserved in Korea or transformed into *mandara*s in Japan can only be accounted for by the reception of the Huayan doctrine in those places – and its subsequent trajectories in the diverse cultures of East Asia.

Appendix 1

Cave 12, Late Tang

Main chamber

Ceiling

Thousand Buddhas

West wall

Recessed niche: Statues of seated Buddha flanked by disciples, bodhisattvas, and heavenly kings (Qing), framed panels depicting Legends of Buddha's Life, Buddha images above and donor images below

S: 普賢 Samantabhadra
N: 文殊 Mañjuśrī

South wall (from west)

法華經變 (*Lotus Sūtra*)
觀無量壽經變 (*Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra*)
天請問經變 (*Devata-sūtra*)
Below: narratives of various *sūtra*s in panels

North wall (from west)

華嚴經變 (*Avataṃsaka-sūtra*)
藥師經變 (*Bhaiśajyaguru-sūtra*)
彌勒經變 (*Maitreya-sūtra*)
Below: narratives of various *sūtra*s in panels

East wall

S: 報恩經變 (*Bao'en Sūtra*)
N: 維摩詰經變 (*Vimalakīrti-sūtra*)

Appendix 2

Dunhuang Cave 55, Song Dynasty

Main chamber:

Central platform: Statues of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, disciples, and lokapalas

Ceiling:

W: 彌勒經變 (*Maitreya-sūtra*)
S: 法華經變 (*Lotus Sūtra*)
E: 楞伽經變 (*Laṅkāvātara-sūtra*)
N: 華嚴經變 (*Avataṃsaka-sūtra*)
Four Heavenly Kings in corners

South wall (from west):

觀音經變 (*Avalokiteśvara-sūtra*)
報恩經變 (*Bao'en Sūtra*)
觀無量壽經變 (*Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra*)
彌勒經變 (*Maitreya-sūtra*)
Below: 賢愚經諸品 (*Damamūka-nidāna-sūtra*), *jātaka*s, *avadāna*s

West wall:

勞度叉鬥聖變 (*Contest between Raudrākṣa and Śāriputra*)
Below: 賢愚經諸品 (*Damamūka-nidāna-sūtra*), *jātaka*s, *avadāna*s

North wall (from west):

佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經變 (*Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī-sūtra*)
思益梵天問經變 (*Viśeṣacinta-brahma-paripṛccha-sūtra*)
藥師經變 (*Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra*)
天請問經變 (*Devata-sūtra*)
Below: 賢愚經諸品 (*Damamūka-nidāna-sūtra*), *jātaka*s, *avadāna*s

East wall:

Seven Buddhas
S: 金光明經變 (*Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra*)
N: 密嚴經變 (*Ghanavyūha*)

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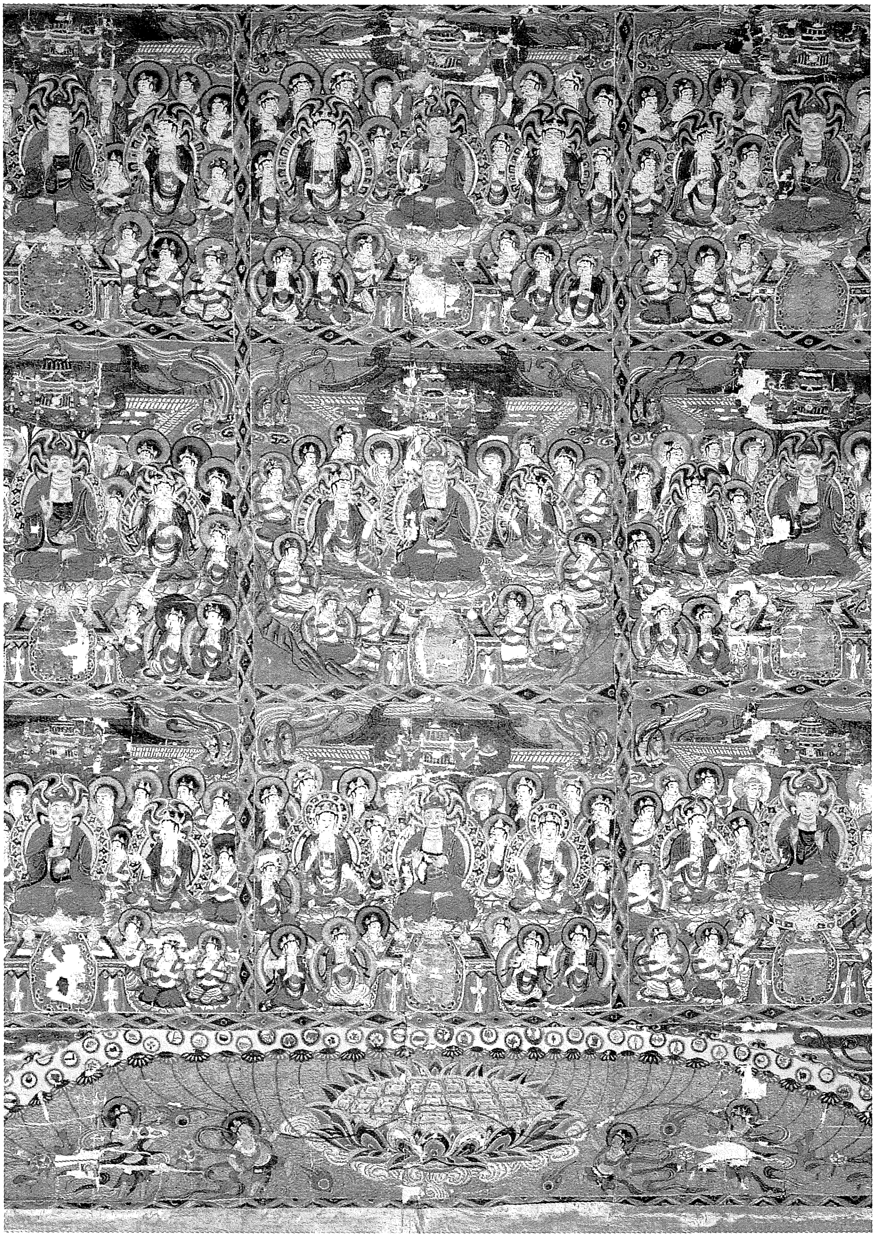

Figure 1: *Seven Locations and Nine Assemblies.*
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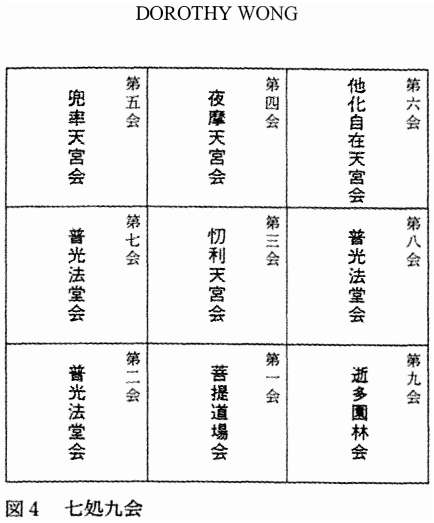
Musée des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris, France,
Photograph courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux /Art Resource, NY, ART192660



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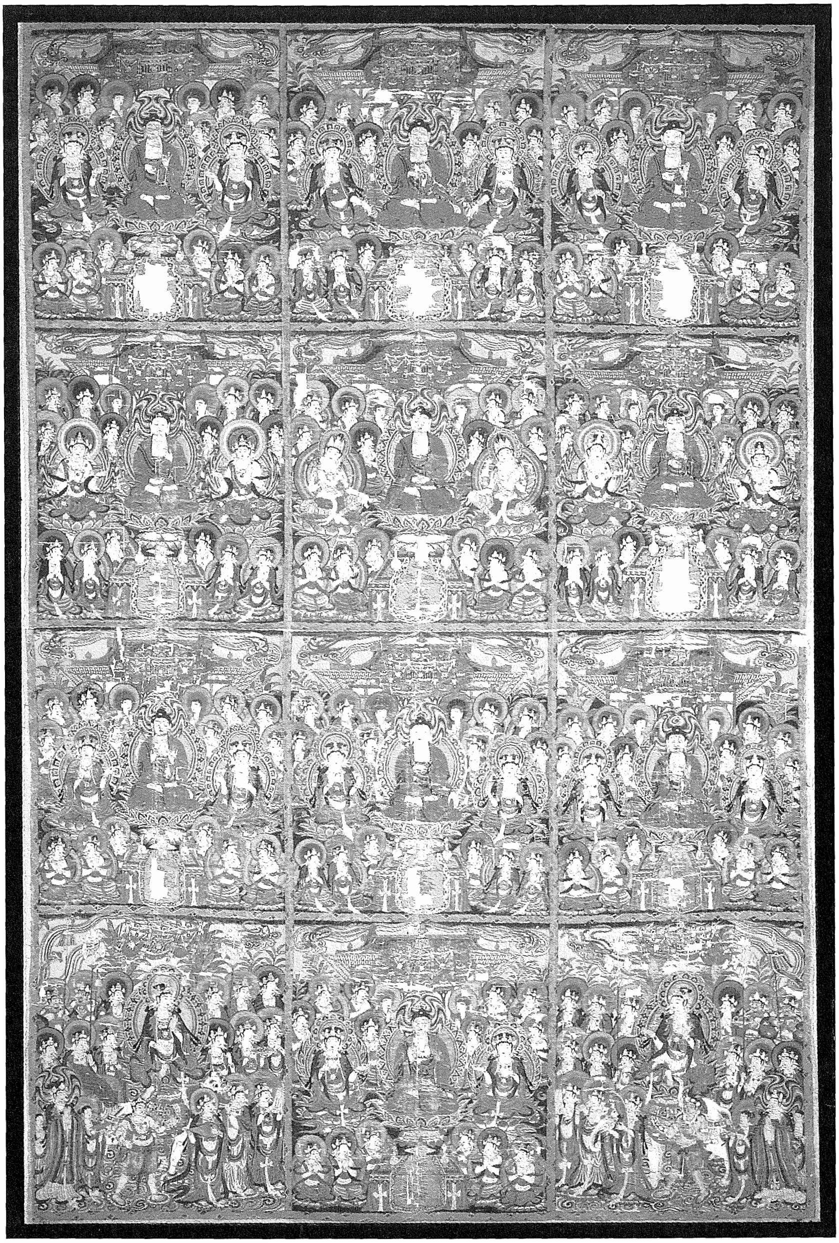

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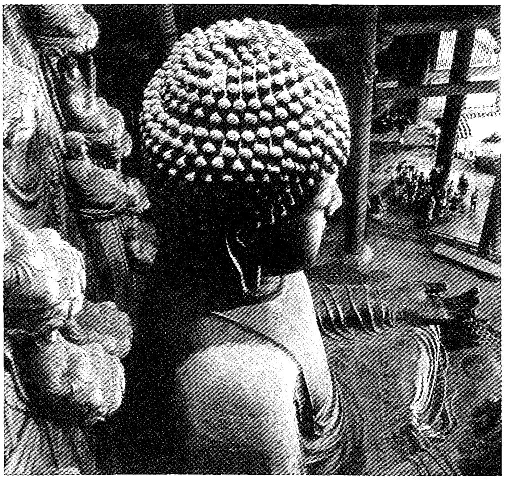
Photograph courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux /Art Resource, NY, ART161979



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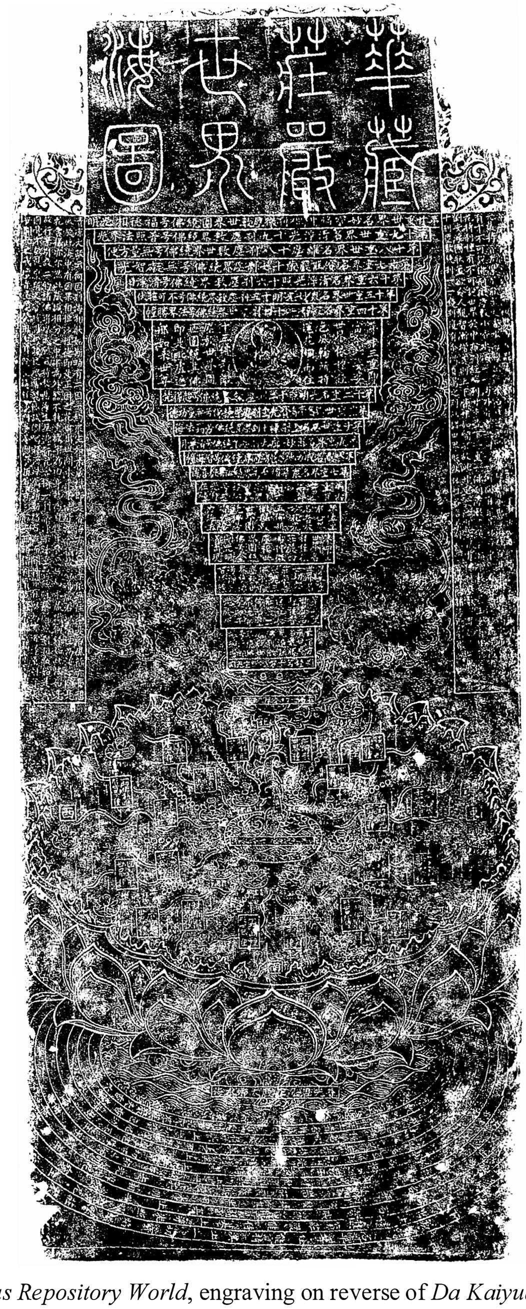

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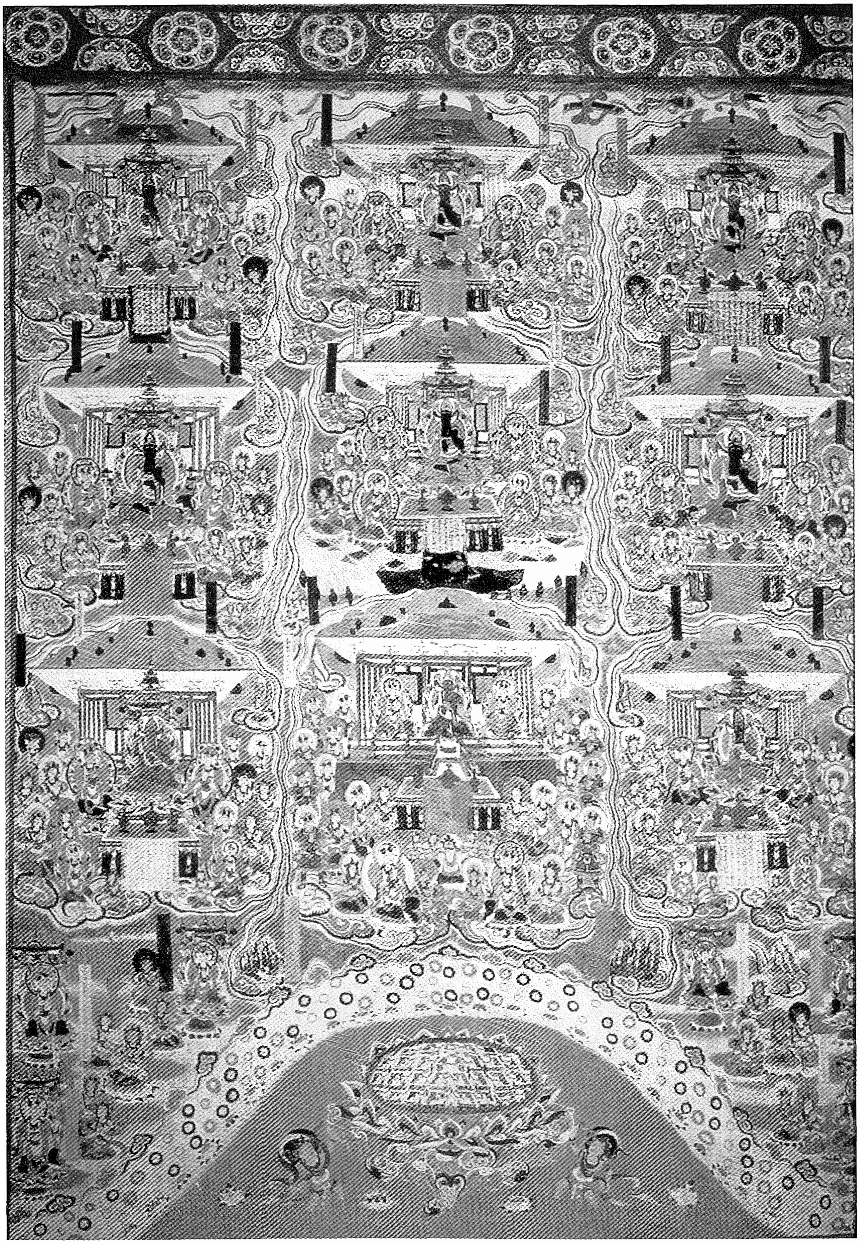

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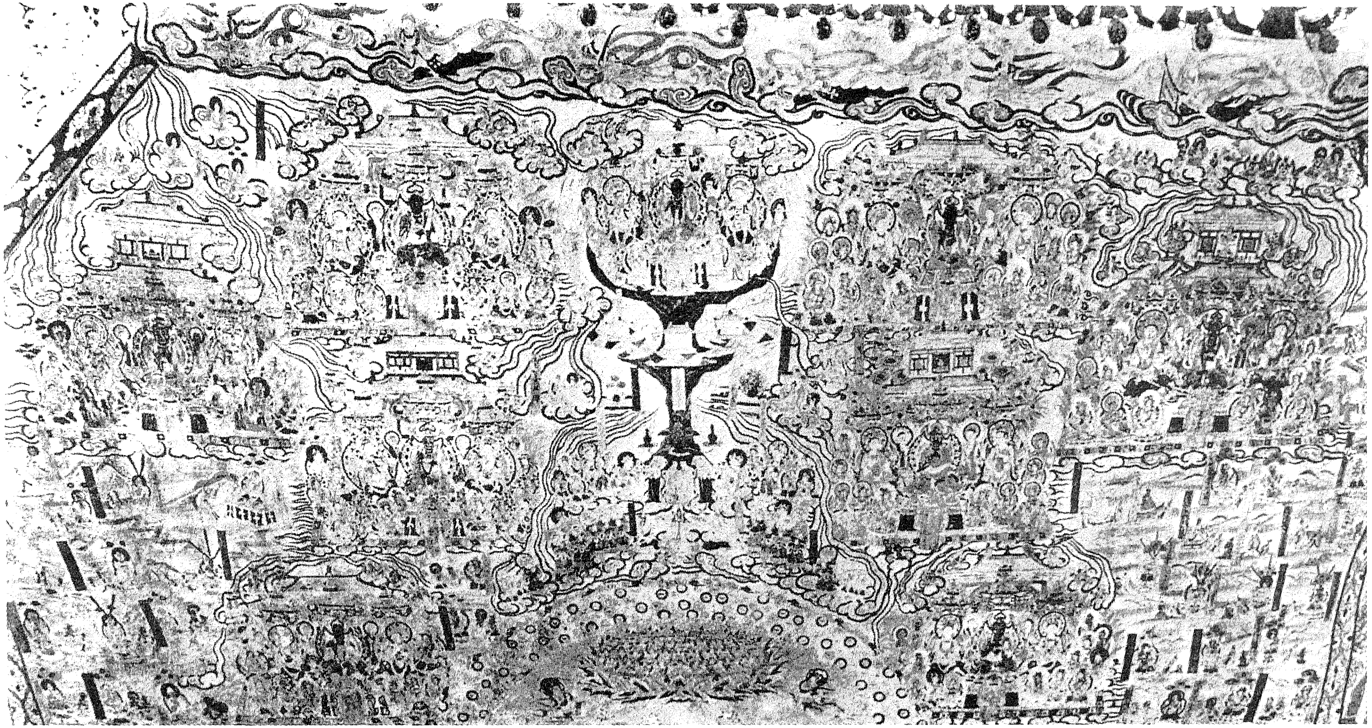

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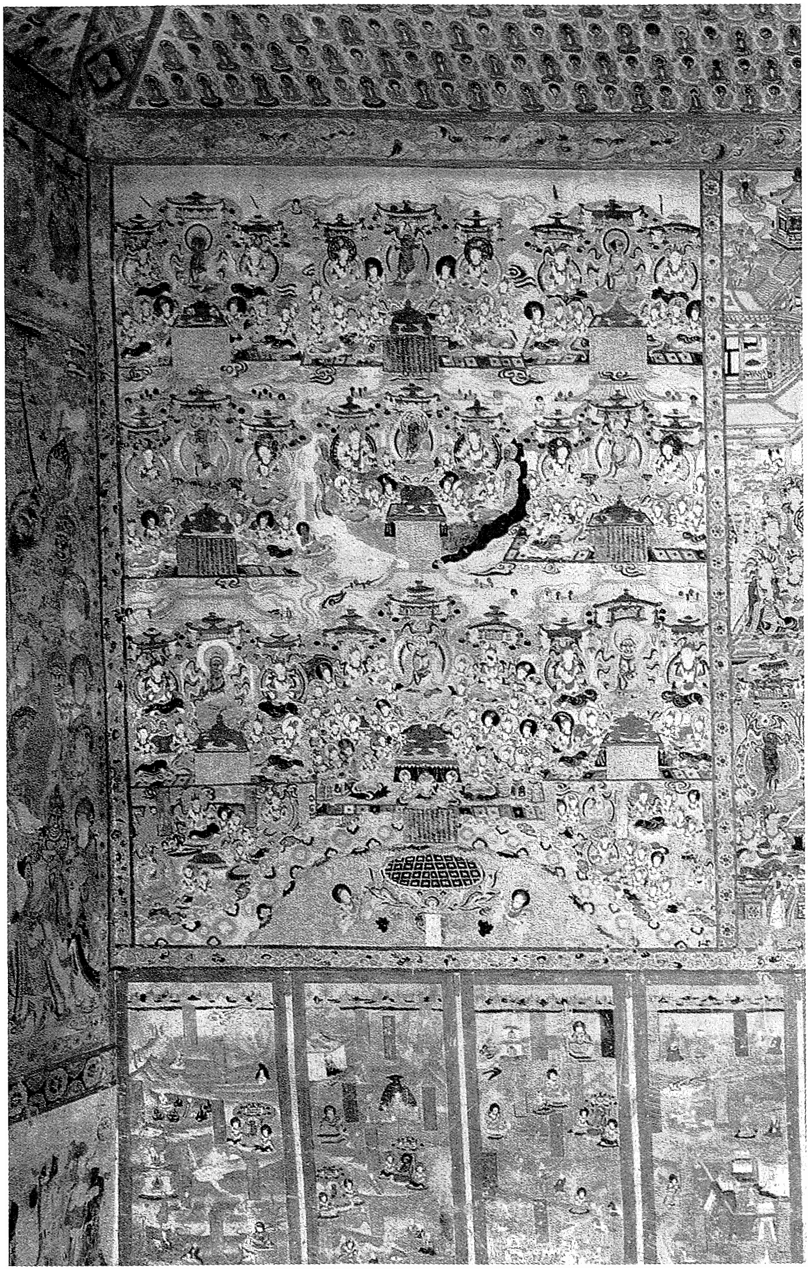

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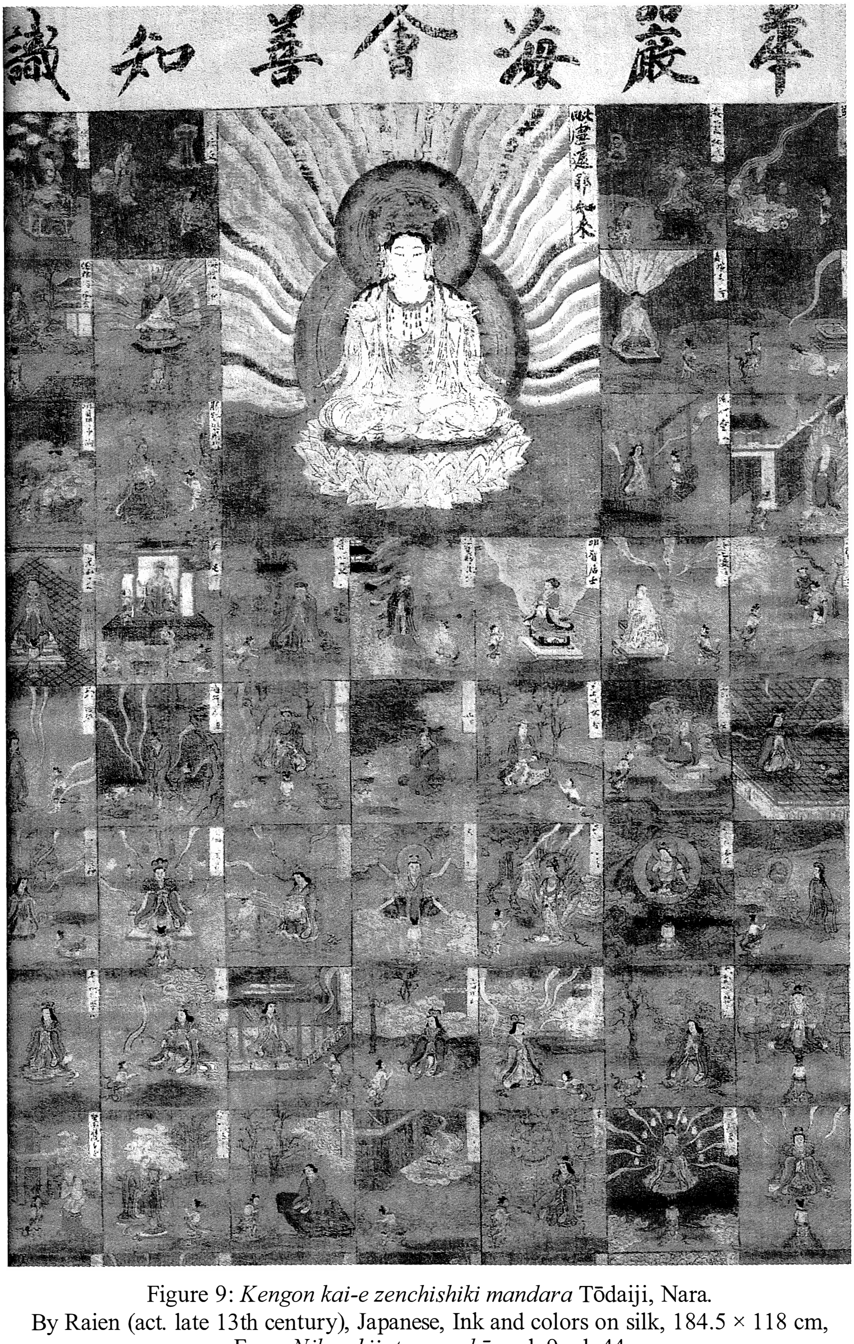

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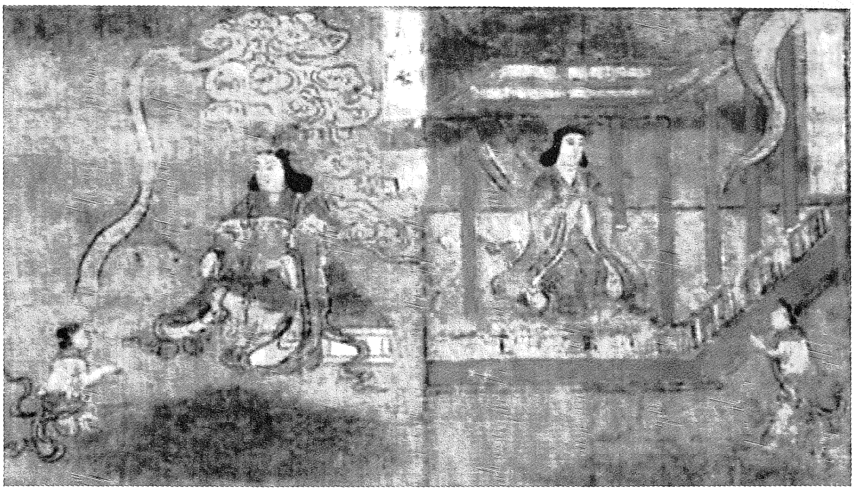

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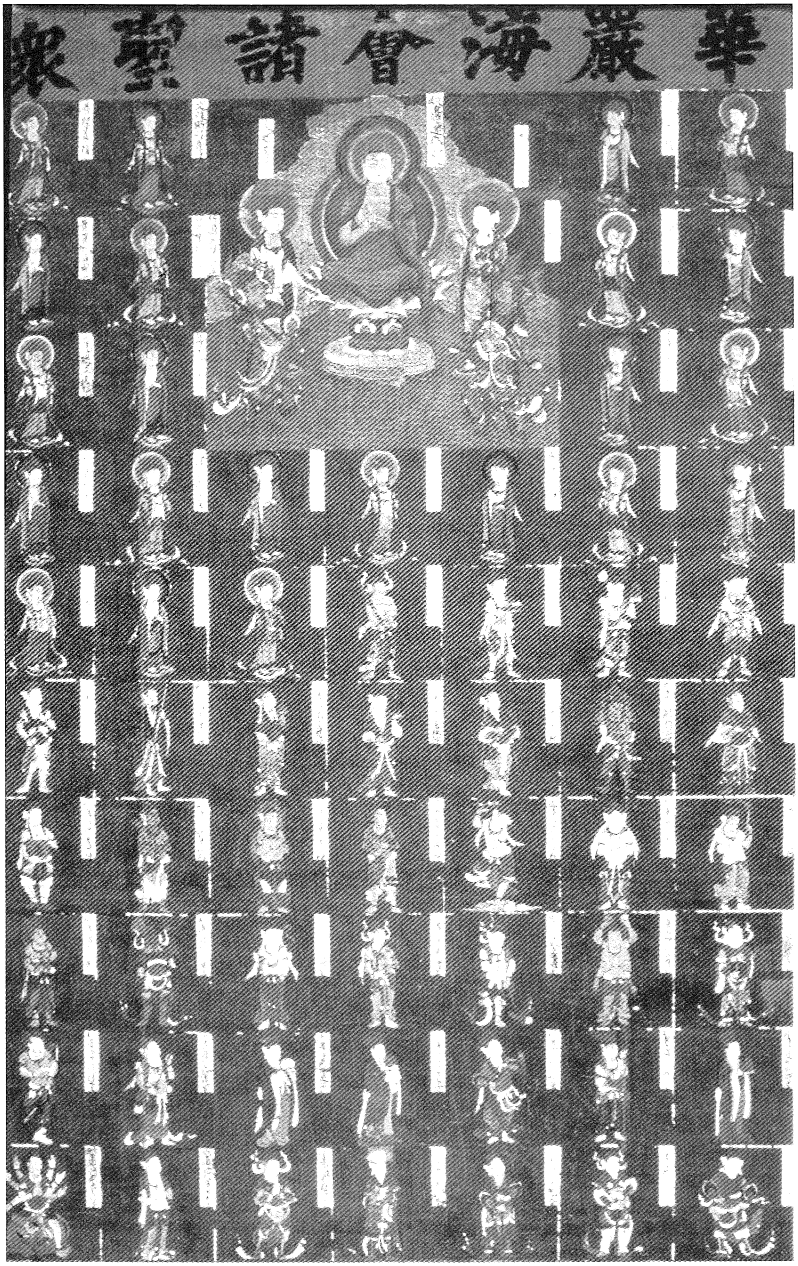

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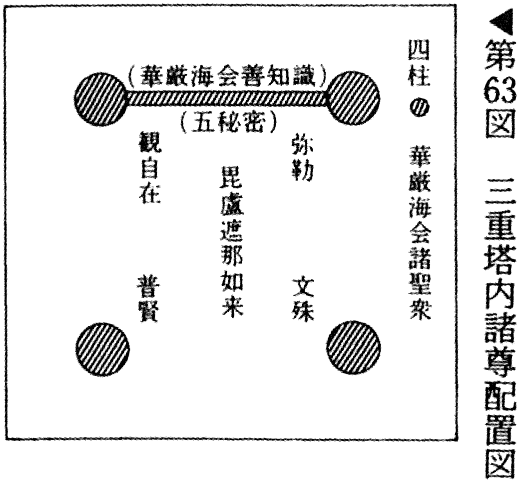

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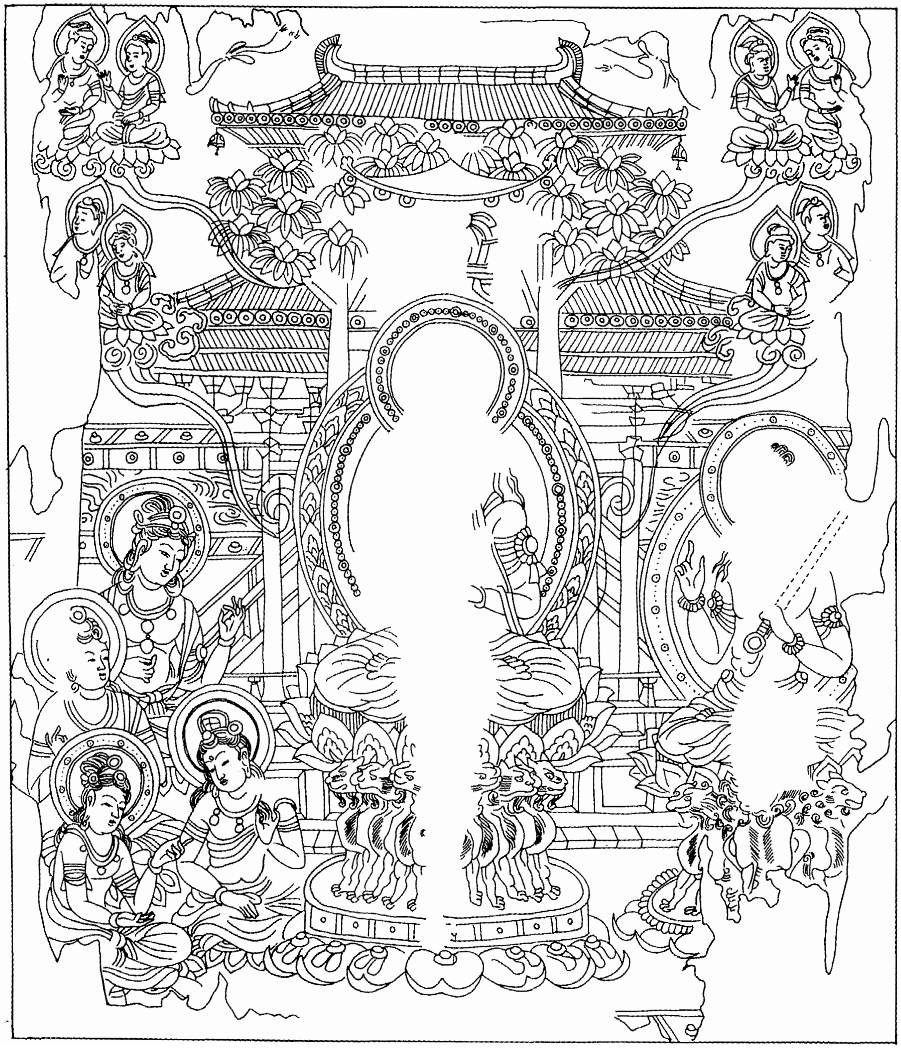

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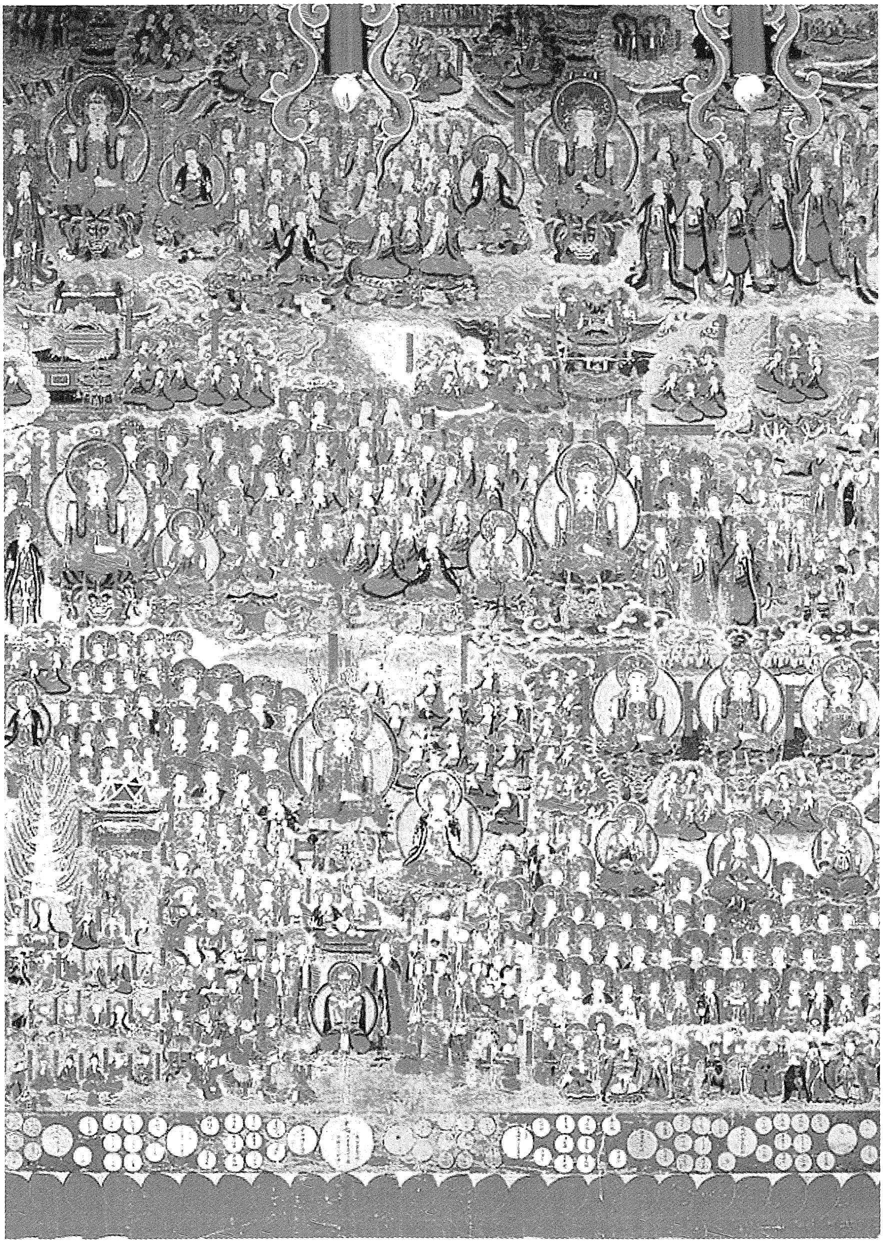

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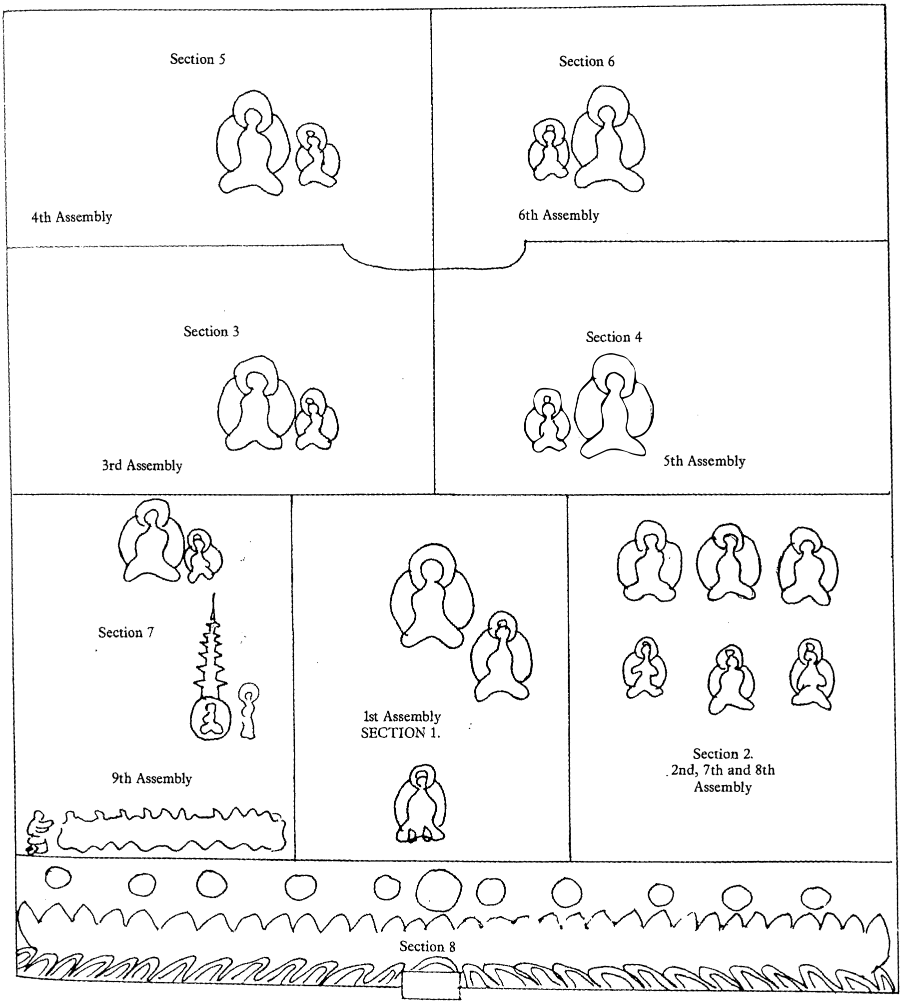

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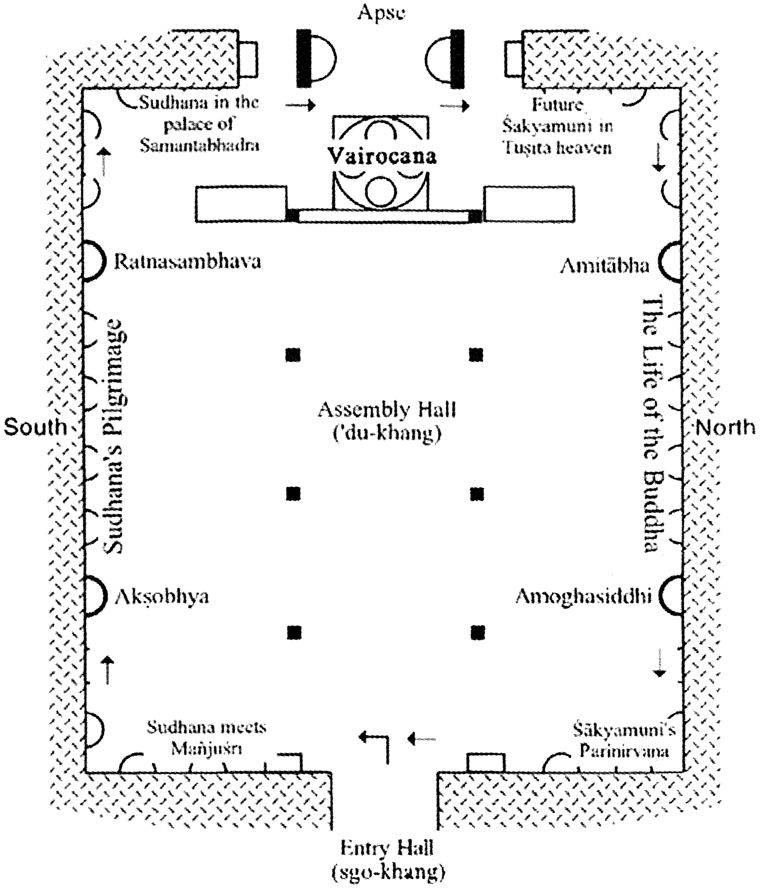

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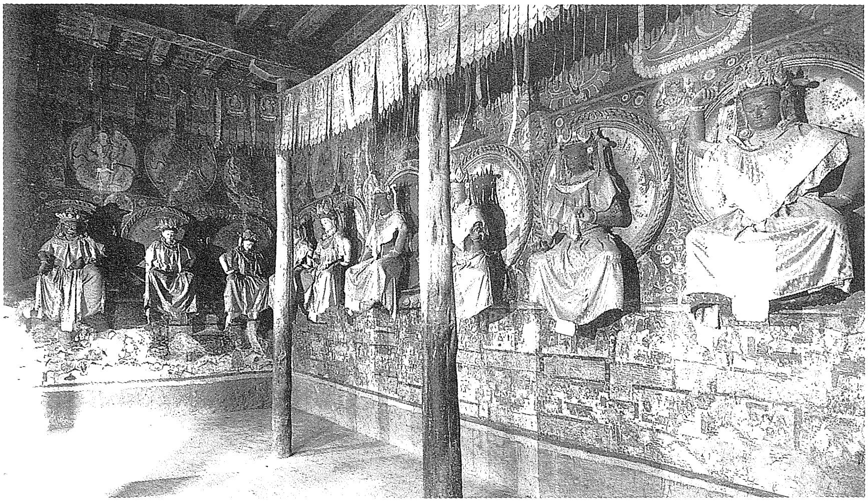

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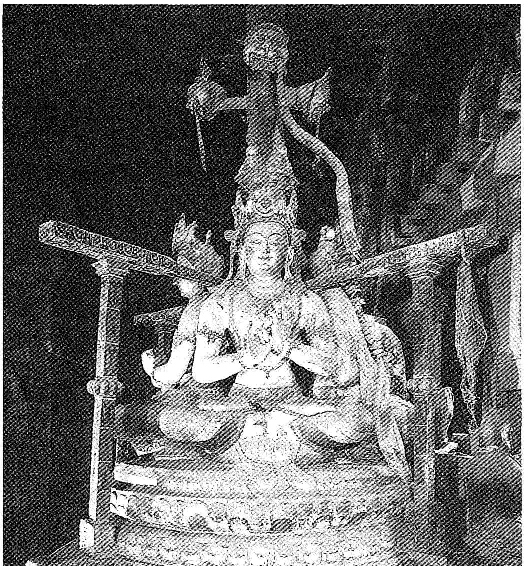

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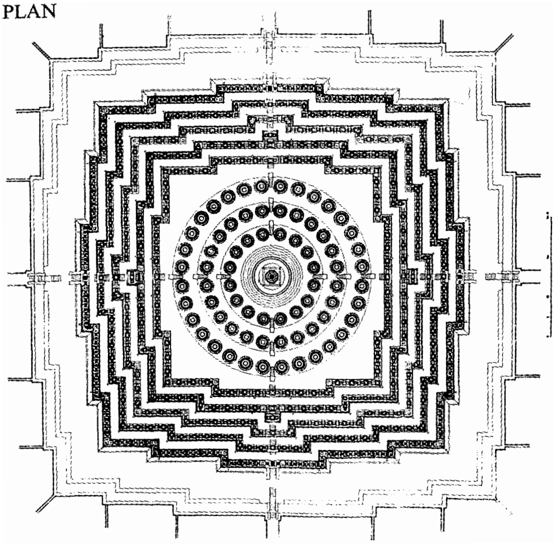

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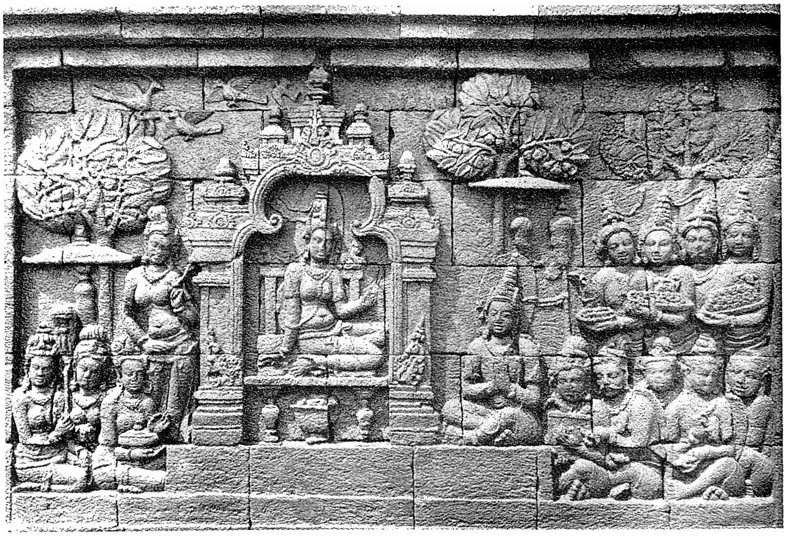

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